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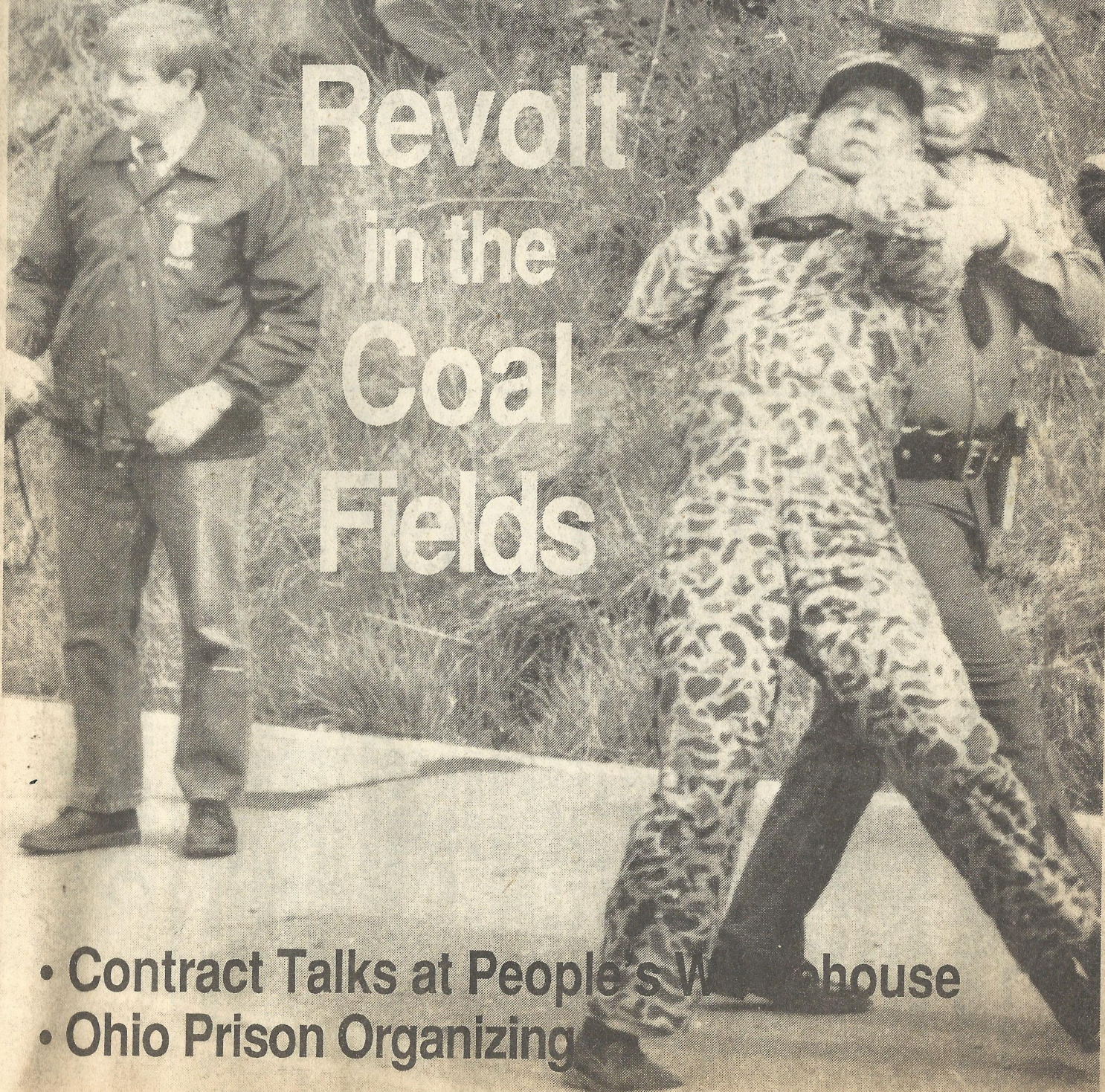
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★ EDUCATION ★ ORGANIZATION ★ EMANCIPATION

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Industrial Workers of the World

Revolt in the Coal Fields



- Contract Talks at People's Warehouse
- Ohio Prison Organizing

★ EDUCATION ★ ORGANIZATION ★ EMANCIPATION

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Industrial Workers of the World



VOLUME # 86, NUMBER 9, WH 1516

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Revolt in the Coal Fields Report from the Front

"We are not dealing with a misguided company, we are dealing with a rotten system." The words belong to Cecil Roberts, Executive Vice President of the United Mine Workers of America. He was speaking in front of thousands of camouflage-clad miners in St. Paul, Virginia, on August 2 of this year.

He called the system rotten from the ground up — a system which has bought and corrupted the political and legal institutions. He said the Wagner Act, which was passed in the late 40's to stop a working class revolt, no longer works. He went on to say that if corporate America wants a working class revolt, the miners are ready to start it right there in southwest Virginia: "We'll begin Solidarity USA."

This is strong and insightful talk from an international officer; an officer who has been jailed as often as most of the rank-and-file miners. He added that he was told they will send in tanks if necessary to crush this strike, and that, "If they do, I'll stand in front of them, too."

My wife and I arrived in Castlewood, Virginia, on July 30 and stopped at a gas station displaying a "We support the UMWA" sign and asked for directions to the UMWA District 28 headquarters. Most gas stations, motels, and other businesses displaying this sign will not do business with state police or known scabs. The attendant gave us directions and refused money for our purchases when he found out that we had driven from Colorado in support of the miners. At District 28 headquarters, we received directions to Camp Solidarity, where we intended to camp during our stay, and a yellow ribbon was tied on our truck aerial to identify us as Union supporters. We were given a list consisting of the license numbers, names and home



UMWA rally at St. Paul, Va.

PHOTO CREDIT: JIM HARNEY

addresses of all scabs working in the area and a map which showed the locations of all of Pittston's facilities.

We were greeted at Camp Solidarity by the owner of the land, Jack Barte (a striking miner). Jack showed us around the camp — kitchen, showers, etc., and explained that he had worked at the preparation plant at Moss #3 for 26 years. He donated his land and facilities to the Union as a camp for visiting supporters for the duration of the strike. We had our own tent, but Jack insisted that we stay in one of the dozens of comfortable trailers donated by many Union members and supporters for visitors such as ourselves.

While we were talking, the state police helicopter flew over the camp — a frequent occurrence we were to learn.

My wife and I have not been treated with any warmer hospitality since we were in Austin, Minnesota, during the P-9 struggle against Austin. We had not been in the camp an hour when trucks arrived from the United Steel Workers Local 12943, Kingsport, Tennessee, loaded with food and large checks to help feed the inhabitants of the camp. There were murals on the kitchen painted by Mike Alewitz, who had designed the P-9 mural, and Bob Allen, a former Illinois coal miner who now paints and travels with Mike. I had brought about 20 "Boycott Hormel" bumper stickers with me, and within minutes they decorated many bumpers and the bulletin board.

There are several major differences from the P-9 struggle, however. The Pittston strike is bigger and is receiving the solid and substantial support of the international union. Unlike the United Food and Commercial Workers, the UMWA's leadership has demonstrated considerably more courage. Only two Union miners have crossed the picket lines in five months. The company had predicted 40-50% to cross immediately. Scabs had to be imported. Many are professional strike-breakers who travel from one strike to another for the lucrative pay companies are willing to offer such scum. I was told that many came from Matewan, where they had worked for Massey as strike-breakers.

As we walked around the camp, we found groups of miners from Virginia, West Virginia, Illinois, Kentucky, Missouri, Alabama, Ohio, and Indiana; groups of steel workers from Tennessee and Pennsylvania; groups of auto workers from Detroit and Chicago; delegations from Boston made up of many unions; Teamsters from New York; CWA delegations from New York, etc., etc. The talk was, "fill the jails," "defy the laws," "Solidarity USA," and "general strike" — yes, "general strike" was heard often.

People's Wherehouse Branch Enters Contract Talks

The constant struggle of Wobblies at the Peoples Wherehouse in Ann Arbor, Michigan, is heating up as the Job Branch heads into negotiations. This is the fourth contract that the IWW has negotiated with the Michigan Federation of Food Cooperatives (MFFC) governing the terms and conditions of employment. Presently, there are about forty workers employed at the Wherehouse, thirty in the bargaining unit, the rest are managers or in the finance department. Almost all bargaining unit employees are members of the IWW.

WHERE WE'VE BEEN

The Peoples Wherehouse Job Branch IU 660 was organized during the winter of 1983. Peoples Wherehouse is the wholesale outlet for 320 member cooperatives which make up the Michigan Federation of Food Cooperatives.

Unionization efforts began when the MFFC Board of Directors decided to replace the worker collective structure, through which the Wherehouse had operated since it was founded twenty years ago, with a traditional management structure (ie. centralized, hierarchical, authoritarian).

The MFFC board strategy to gain control over the workplace began with the hiring of an ex-manager from Krogers who set out to intimidate and divide the workers. Threats of firings, arbitrary job reassignments, and layoffs were all used to break group solidarity.

The IWW was a natural choice for these workers with their experience of worker self-management, who were engaged in

Continued on page 4

Ohio Prison Organizing: Latest Developments

Revolutionary greetings and many thanks to all our comrades out there in the so called "Free World" Gulag for your show of continuing support for our struggle from within. A lot has been happening here and I have a responsibility to keep all of you aware.

Attitude Adjustment

Our Sister Worker Sonya K. Clark, confined to the wimmin's prison in Marysville, Ohio, has been "released" from isolation, which states that they are "voluntarily" entering an "Attitude Adjustment Unit" which is another form of behavior modification combined with slave labor, as a precondition to final release to the general population. What happens if you don't "voluntarily" sign the contract? Well, you're placed back in the isolation block as punishment for not "volunteering" to have your attitude adjusted. The wimmin are forced to do heavy labor at \$3.00 per month, the same pay they received while in isolation. Sister Worker Sonya is presently organizing the wimmin for direct ac-

tion. For further information on this struggle, contact Sonya K. Clark #17400, 1479 Collins Ave., Marysville, OH. 43040.

Unit Management

Back to the rectum of the beast: Unit Management is into full force here now. All Units (formerly called Cellblocks) have a "Unit Manager" (a captain who now wears civilian clothes); a "Correctional Counselor" (a sergeant still in uniform); a Social Worker, Secretary, and two guards. Everything is self-contained. If you want a cell move, job change, pass or have a problem, you are now dealt with by the "Unit Manager" or his associates.

This behavior modification technique has been in use in the Bureau of Prisons (BOP) for years, designed by penologists and psychologists for former BOP director Norman Carlson, to be used as a means to further control and make a more detailed study of prisoners. The prisoner is forced to become dependent on the unit management team. Penologists claim that this is to improve interaction with staff and prisoners so as to make the prisoner a more productive and socially acceptable "citizen". In actuality, it is designed for more control. The snitches don't have so far to go to inform on their

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Correspondence

Zionism is not Racism

To the editor:

In the August *Industrial Worker*, Robert Nordlander called unions which invest in Israel "a contributor to the slaughter of the Palestinian people that is going on in the West Bank and Gaza." The Middle East situation has many perspectives. *IW* readers should know that the PLO is also a contributor to the slaughter; its repeated acts of terrorism in years past have taken the lives of hundreds of Israelis and Lebanese people. Now, the PLO is blocking a vote by the occupied territories which might replace the PLO as the "official" spokesman for the Palestinian people.

Nordlander called Zionism itself "racist." Neither Jews nor Palestinians are a race; if anything, they are in the same race (Caucasian or, if you like, Semitic). Besides, the word itself has different meanings. Some people think that Zionism is supporting the state of Israel as a secular nation; others think it's supporting a Jewish state. There are people who believe that Israel does not need to consist solely of Jews, or even of a Jewish majority, to be a Jewish state. Following some of the laws of Judaism would be enough (these may or may not include the "strict-Sabbath" and other "blue laws").

Many of those "honest intellectuals" quoted by Nordlander, the ones who assume the "racism" of Zionism, are merely rationalizing their own prejudices. (I do not mean to include Nordlander here). These people often confuse the Israeli government with the Israeli people, and, what is worse, assume that all Jews are identical and are responsible for all the abuses of the Israeli government. They can point to false or misleading statistics and faked eyewitness accounts, just as those in the government can. The fact that they are supporting the underdog does not mean that they are correct.

The Middle East is filled with dictatorships that feel free to massacre their own

citizens, and who feel no qualms about murdering people in bordering nations. Israel has at least some level of democracy and civil rights, and the abuses of the infantada are decreasing. We must condemn their actions, but we also must put them into perspective. Has there been a call for boycott of Syrian financiers, with all the bloodshed and oppression Syria has caused? Or are Syrian abuses "acceptable" for some reason?

For the OBU,
D. Saz

Israeli Apartheid

Dear Industrial Worker,

Bravo to Fellow Worker Nordlander (*IW* August 1989) for pointing out AFL-CIO and other unions that have investments in Israel. Bravo to the IWW for having no such investments. I'm pleased that the *IW* collective has not resorted to the same censoring of those who dare speak out against Israel that the main stream media has.

Just as US citizens were outraged at the brutal suppression of students and workers in China, we should be horrified by the continuing suppression of the Palestinian uprising. It has never ceased to amaze me that people who well understand the cycle of rebellion and state repression, and violence in Central America in South Africa fail to understand this in Israel. Also, many fail to understand that Israel is a direct contributor to the suppression of the liberation movements in South Africa and Nicaragua, to name two, by providing arms and military intelligence to the apartheid regime and the terrorist contras.

As workers, we should be especially sensitive to the apartheid-like divisions in Israeli society with most Palestinians working at service jobs in restaurants and the like, with forced separations from their families.

In Solidarity,
R. Tanter

Israel in Perspective

Fellow Workers,

I am alarmed at certain remarks made by Robert Nordlander in his article "Trade Unions Invest in Israel" (*IW*, Aug., '89) I would like to know just which governments in this imperfect world he would approve investing in.

Nordlander denounces Zionism as "racist" in the view of "intellectually honest persons everywhere" and points out that it has been condemned as racist by the United Nations. When the hell did the IWW ever look to the United Nations as its ideological guide? I resent being branded as intellectu-

It should be understood by members and others who read this paper that it is the policy of the IWW to designate as official any articles which have the regular official sanction. Anything not so designated is not official. All other matter contained herein is the mere personal expression of the individual or individuals writing or editing the same.

SUBMISSIONS POLICY

The deadline for copy for each edition is the fifteenth of the month. Important articles arriving after that date, but before we go to press, will be considered for inclusion in that issue, but we cannot guarantee their timely publication after deadline.

All copy should be typed and lines double spaced with 1 inch margins all around.

We encourage letters to the editors in response to articles appearing in the *Industrial Worker*. We only ask that they be kept brief and to the point and avoid personal invective.

The editorial collective tries to answer correspondence but a lack of time and person power (we do this after our regular working hours) prohibit us from answering all who write. We ask for your patience. Submit your letters and articles early!

ally dishonest because I reject anti-semitism parading as anti-Zionism.

The branding of Zionism as racist is an offense against reason and justice and deserves the denunciation of humanity. It is particularly hypocritical that the racist label has been applied to Zionism by regimes which have themselves been guilty of racist crimes, such as the former Idi Amin regime in Uganda which expelled thousands of Indians and Europeans from its borders, besides murdering thousands of its black citizens. Most of the 72 governments which voted for the UN resolution on Zionism in 1975 are themselves the product of nationalist movements, many of which are also racist in character. Most of them, including the Communist regimes, are also dictatorships which oppress their own people. Some Arab nations which have branded Zionism as racist long ago mounted a world boycott against nations doing business with Israel, as well as firms with Jewish officers or ownership, and have banned Jewish employees of foreign firms from working in their countries. Thus, their campaign against Zionism is directed against all Jews, falsely identifying Zionism and Judaism as one and the same.

The UN resolution on Zionism in no way represents the opinion of humanity. The UN represents governments, not people. Many of those governments attained power by military coups, and do not represent their people.

Zionism is nationalist, not racist. It began in the 19th century as a response to pogroms against the Jews in Russia and discrimination against Jews elsewhere. It was a movement, including Socialists such as Theodore Herzl, which aimed to establish a nation where Jewish people could find refuge from persecution. When the horrible scourge of Nazism wiped out six million Jewish people, the push for a homeland for those who remained became overwhelming, and so the state of Israel was created in 1948 with the support of the United States and, temporarily, the support of the Soviet Union.

Not all Jews are Zionists. The majority of Jews do not choose to live in Israel. But for those who do, it is an option which deserves our sympathy and support. Zionism is no more to be condemned than any other movement of oppressed people seeking to maintain their identity, such as American Indians. I personally am an internationalist, not a nationalist, but I do not deny to those who differ with me the right to fulfill their aspirations in their own way. I would like to see a world in which national identities were less important than the identification with humanity as a whole but we must respect the aspirations of those who still value nationhood.

In denouncing the false charges against Zionism, we need not identify with the policies of the Israeli government or of Zionist organizations, or with any particular plan for settlement of the problems of the Middle East. Neither need we reject the legitimate aspirations of the Arab people inside or outside of Israel, so long as Israel's right to exist is observed. These are separate questions to be solved by diplomacy.

Jewish people deserve better than they have received. They have been in the forefront of movements to protect the civil rights of others because they understand that no group is safe unless all are safe. We should feel the utmost concern that although the atrocities of Auschwitz and Buchenwald are so recent, there is a resurgence of sentiment that could result in further acts of genocide against Jewish people. In Chicago and suburbs, as well as in other parts of the nation, a number of synagogues and Jewish cemeteries have been vandalized, and in my town, I have seen graffiti sprayed on walls, showing swastikas and the slogan "Kill the Jews."

From the beginning of Israel in 1947, the major Arab states and nationalist groups have declared that their aim was to push Israel into the Sea. The Israelis are a beleaguered people with their backs to the wall but they are not of one mind. For example, during the occupation of Lebanon, there were enormous peace demonstrations which, if duplicated in America in the same proportions, would have included millions of people. Their government is guilty of serious mistakes, and there are many in Israel who recognize this and wish to correct them. We should support

Wesley Everest Finally Rests in Peace

On November 11, 1989, an ad hoc organization, the Southwest Washington Labor History Committee, in cooperation with Sexton John Baker of Sticklin-Greenwood Memorial Park, Centralia, Wa., will host a ceremony to re-inter and honor Wesley Everest.

Everest, a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, was slain 70 years ago, in an attack on Union headquarters by members of a local American Legion unit which split-off from an Armistice Day parade in 1919. History books have called this tragedy the "Centralia Massacre."

The remains of Everest, which have recently been discovered buried at the edge of a football field in Centralia, will be re-interred at the opening of a new section of the cemetery devoted to stalwart unionists and labor organizers, and will represent the first such section of its kind known in the state.

The ceremony will include a march from the public library in Centralia to the Greenwood Cemetery. Songs from the early labor movement will be performed by a number of prominent musicians, including Bruce "Utah" Phillips, a noted labor music historian and performing artist. An exhibition of historic memorabilia from this era will also be on display.

— John Baker

these people, and not aid the hardliners by a hostile stance toward Israel.

Lastly, I wish to deplore Nordlander's reliance for data on notorious Jew-bashing organizations, such as the Arab League financed Institute for Palestinian Studies, the creature of Arab governments, and Jew-baiting writers such as Lee O'Brian and Lenni Brenner.

The IWW, as an organization of the working class, should not encourage organizations which spread racial, national, or religious hatred.

Fraternally,
Virgil J. Vogel

Reconciliation with WSA?

Dear Industrial Worker,

The report on the San Francisco anarchist gathering in your August 1989 issue confirms reports that the labor workshops attempted to reconcile the IWW and Workers' Solidarity Alliance (WSA) by minimizing past differences. Apparently there are several IWW members unfamiliar with the past sectarian attacks WSA made against the IWW, even though these are summarized in an official union report authorized by the 1986 Convention. Therefore, these poorly informed wobbles wish to give the WSA the benefit of the doubt and accept recent gestures of friendliness at face value.

If the majority of IWW members now wish to patch things up with the WSA, that's their business. My only complaint is the way the IWW is going about it. To claim that past friction between the IWW and WSA were due to unnamed "personalities" lends credence to the claims being made by the WSA that there never were any ill-intentions on their part toward the IWW. Instead, the WSA "line" suggests it was all a personal vendetta being carried out against the WSA by a handful of sectarian wobbles. The IWW appears to be patching things up with the WSA, by helping them discredit the reputations of those IWW members who defended the union against WSA's past attacks.

If the IWW wants to forgive accusations circulated by the WSA that the union is similar to the phony CNT "renewados" and is a sell-out class collaborationist outfit, then why do so at the expense of IWW supporters? Wouldn't it be better to ask the WSA to simply retract its earlier "misstatements"? Why shouldn't the WSA

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Industrial Worker

ONE UNION ONE LABEL
ONE ENEMY



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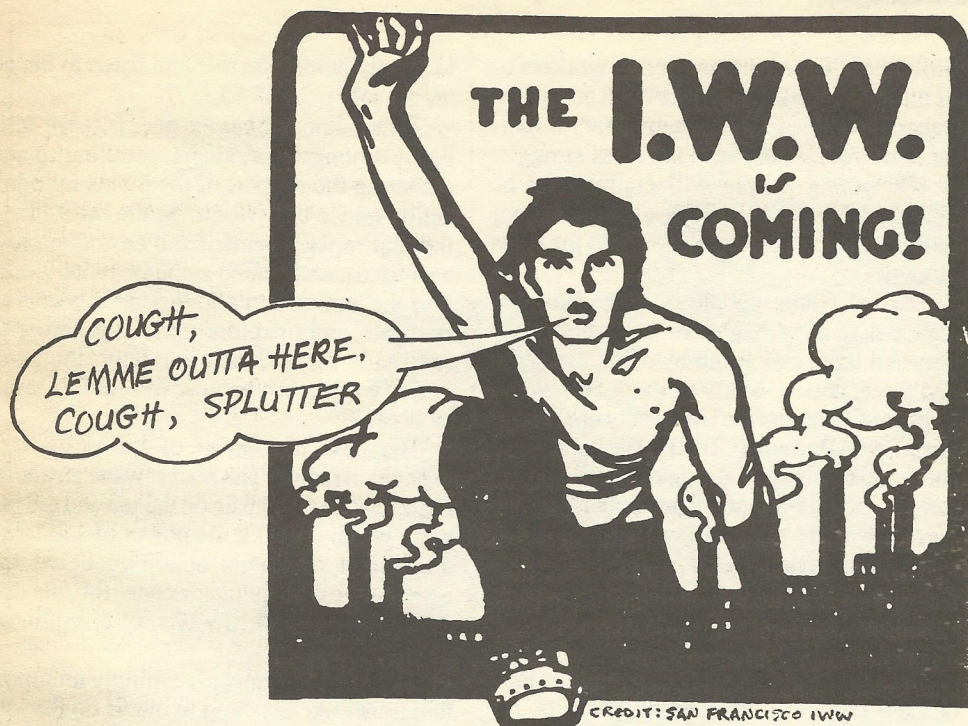
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Greening of the IWW

What happens when we win?

The time has come for the IWW to tackle head-on the question of post-industrial production, better known as "What do we do now that we won the General Strike?" We can no longer duck the issue by saying that workers' committees will decide all that when the time comes. We must firmly put to rest the misconception that Wobblies are factory fetishists by taking a clear stand against the kinds of work that harm our planet or alienate us from our labor. Let us envision a world where the earth and our labor are honored equally.

Assuming that people are naturally inventive and enjoy contributing to their communities, and that people displaced from harmful industries will want to be retrained rather than put out to pasture, then we must find an answer to those who ask, "What will I do if my factory is shut down?" If millions of jobs are lost as the result of decommissioning harmful and unnecessary industries, then conversion to an ecological, self-managed economy will demand an imaginative program of apprenticeship and education.

Labor unions are simply the social manifestation of an instinctive solidarity found among working class people, and the IWW is no exception. Unions were born out of conflict and designed as instruments of class struggle, and from this clash they draw their meaning. But in the absence of struggle, when the boss class has been evicted and the workers are busy redesigning society, unionism becomes irrelevant. As "work" is replaced with "play", the shell of unionism will wither away and leave in its place an intricate network of freely-associating cooperatives.

That venerable Wobbly institution called Father Hagerty's Wheel of Fortune, in which the various branches of industry are laid out in diagrammatic detail like a pizza with too many extras, was never meant to describe post-revolutionary society. It's a handy guide for understanding how industry (as we know it under capitalism) is organized, and thus how to coordinate our own struggle, but it's a lousy model for the future. Let's try to imagine what the wheel would look like if we could depose the boss class and put our lives back in balance with nature.

Every person has a calling, some talent or passion for a particular activity that best expresses that individual. People seem happiest when they have the freedom to pursue that calling. A primary goal of self-managed production, then, is to create this freedom of action. Most callings fit into one of several basic archetypes. It's these Jungian archetypes, weighted with the power of myth, which will form the basis of our new Wheel of De-Industry.

Let's take a closer look at the old wheel and see what we'd want to eliminate or expand. The Department of Mining and

Minerals (200) would, I suspect, be mostly eliminated. The mines would be shut and the oil pumps turned off. The bad environmental effects of this department are many and severe. Whether it's the contamination of an oil spill; the air pollution caused by burning coal and oil; the devastation of strip-mining; or the radioactive legacy of uranium tailings, this department has no place in our utopian future.

The Department of Agriculture and Fisheries (100) will if anything expand, for people will still need food in a self-managed society (in fact, all that democratic participation really

The Department of General Construction (300) is a mixed bag. We've covered enough of the earth with our concrete swaddling to justify a full building moratorium. Even if more housing could be justified, building nuclear plants or jails could never be. It's time we began voluntarily reducing our global population, diminishing rather than expanding our ecological impact as a species.

Yet there are some aspects of the pre-existent infrastructure which we may want to keep in good repair. While I don't see the need to build any more docks, railroads, or highways, I can think of a few streets, bridges, and sewers I'd like to keep working (IU 310). Ships and buildings are generally useful items, and so I expect we'll have IUs 320 and 330 around after the revolution as well.

The Department of Manufacture and General Production (400) is probably the most interesting to analyze. Unless everyone decides to go naked after the General Strike, the Textile workers (IU 410) will still have a job. And unless everyone decides to sit on the floor, the Furniture workers (IU 420) will still be needed.

Industrial Union 430, the Chemical workers, is an industry that pushes all my buttons. Do we really want to be producing more drugs, paint, rubber, explosives, chemicals, and plastics? While I would expect IU 450 to largely disappear, I can't rule out entirely the possibility of some benign, even helpful, applications, perhaps in medicine.

I view IU 440, the Metal and Machinery workers, much like IU 430. My idyllic vision of the future doesn't include many blast furnaces or steel mills, but does incorporate the skills of bicycle builders and tuba repair people. We may also find the metal workers useful if we decide to melt down our automobiles in order to make windmills and solar panels.

I cannot be objective about the Printers and Publishing House workers (IU 450) to which I belong. If the IWW's motto is "Education, Organization, Emancipation", then IU 450 is crucial to our union's purpose. Books are a fundamental part of education; pamphlets and posters help us to organize;

tures where leathercraft is an accepted art-form and the death of the animal is not taken lightly.

I approve of IU 480, the Glass and Pottery workers. This area of activity will boom as mass-manufacturing dies out and people rediscover the beauty of hand-made cups, bowls, and plates, as well as tiles and bricks. The Pulp and Paper Mill workers (IU 490) will probably be cut back but not eliminated. It would not do for me to tout the virtues of IU 450 (Printers) and then shut down the paper mills, source of the printers' raw material. But so much of what's printed today is garbage that we could easily make dramatic cuts in our use of paper.

The Department of Transportation and Communication (500) will go through a lot of change but remain indispensable. While I would like to see commercial air travel and the private automobile eliminated, I'm equally in favor of finding other environmentally sound ways of getting around and communicating. I find no redeeming value in television, yet love pirate radio.

The Department of Public Service (600) stands to grow the most of all. This is where our economy's been most neglected—many of these industries are starved for resources because we've allowed them to come under the control of governments who are more interested in preparing for war than serving the public. No one would deny that we need more nurses, teachers, or postal workers (IUs 610, 620, and 670). If we intend to transplant the cities by building parks and greenbelts, then we'll need a lot more gardeners and landscapers too (IU 650). If the new proposal for a sex trade workers Industrial Union 690 is endorsed by the IWW, we can then discuss whether we think this industry too will fade away after the revolution or linger on.

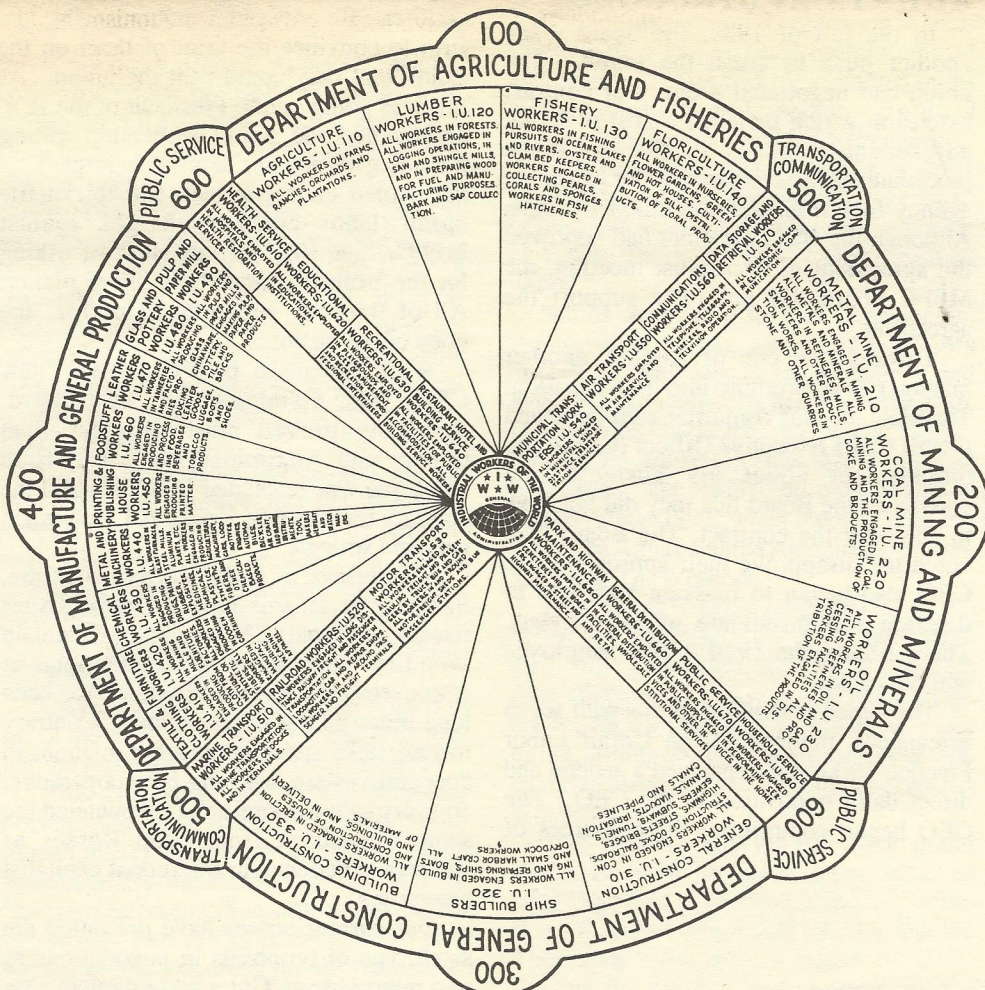
In place of the Department of Mining and Minerals, I suggest we create a new Department of the Arts (200). We'll make the visual arts IU 210, the performing arts IU 220, the written arts IU 230, and the magical arts IU 240. For a union that places as much emphasis on singing as we do, we sure have neglected the arts. We should be ashamed that Utah Phillips has been relegated to a small and musty corner of IU 630—as a "recreational worker", Utah has little in common with your average summer camp counselor or croupier.

While many of us are familiar with the visual, performing, and written arts, my call for a magical arts workers industrial union (IU 240) may seem a little strange to some. But I believe that their is a place in our society for witches, astrologers, psychics, and fortunetellers. It is primarily a women's trade, which is one reason why I think the male-dominated labor unions will have trouble accepting this as a legitimate calling. The tendency will be to laugh it off as "superstition", but we must learn to accept peoples belief systems even if they're different than ours. I'm no religious apologist, and heartily condemn the patriarchal institutions of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, but I respect those spiritual traditions which honor life and renounce violence.

And what about those workers in today's economy who can't be found on Father Hagerty's Wheel? What about the soldiers and bank clerks, and cops and stockbrokers? People who had the misfortune of getting stuck in a socially useless job but who are nonetheless working class, in fact if not in outlook? These people deserve a chance to find meaningful work too.

While it may be hopelessly utopian to try and diagram our future modes of production and exchange, no harm can come from discussing it. We have often been accused of offering little vision beyond the General Strike, and of lacking any articulate social program. Re-inventing Father Hagerty's Wheel will go a long way towards answering those criticisms. I propose we discuss the question for a year or so, and then by vote of the General Membership, adopt a new Post-Industrial Wheel along the lines I've described.

Jess Grant



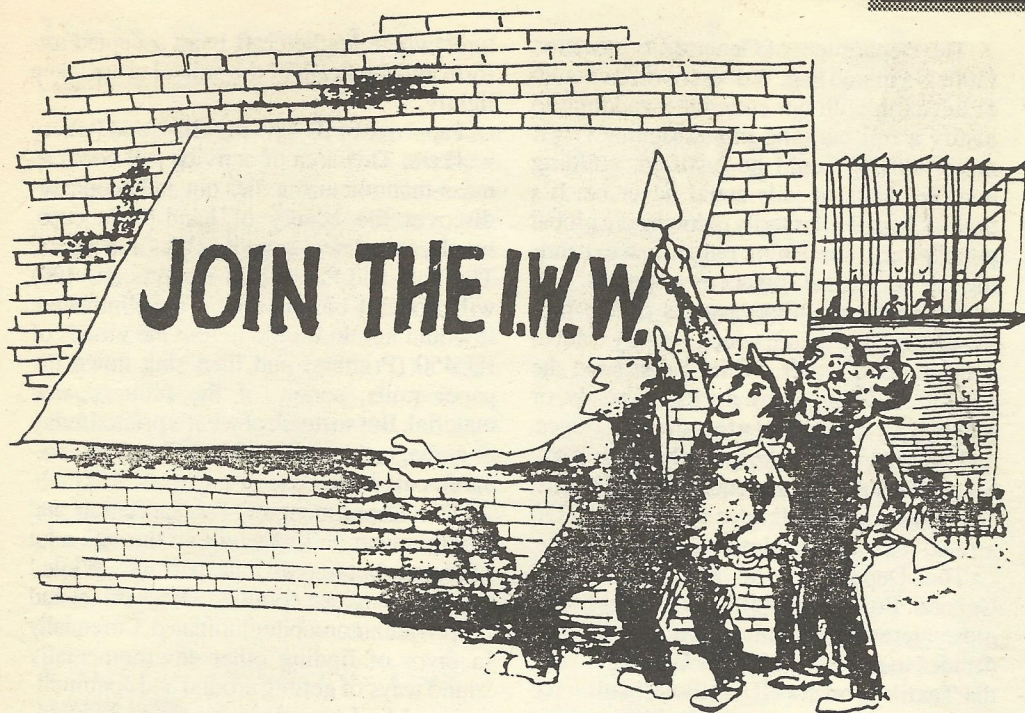
works up an appetite). The cities will depopulate as people flee the unnatural overcrowding of urbania and return to greener areas. Many of these people may turn to agriculture, reversing the historic trend of rural flight. And as farmers are weaned of their dependency on petrochemical concerns, they will turn to the labor-intensive techniques of organic farming.

Lumber workers (Industrial Union 120) and fishery workers (IU 130) would have to adhere to strict quotas of "sustainable yield". Loggers, in particular, would become as involved in tree-planting and eco-restoration as cutting timber. Fishery workers would inherit the task of restoring watersheds and spawning habitats.

and emancipation happens as a result of the first two.

After the revolution, when we're all working a lot less, we'll actually have time to read. The demand for books will go up as the demands on our time go down. But because we won't be printing any more shareholders' reports or income tax forms, our actual consumption of paper will go way down.

IU 460, the Food workers, will always be with us, sorting our fruit and milling our grains. But IU 470, the Leather workers, is bound to be more controversial. I cannot stomach the wholesale slaughter of animals for profit, and so find it difficult to look upon body parts as a legitimate raw material. But others will undoubtedly point to native cul-



Youth and Labor: Organizing in Santa Barbara

Historically, young people have been attracted to the revolutionary unionism of the IWW. However, the 1980's has left a definite tension between working people and young people (even "progressive" ones). The latest confirmation of this tension was at the Fourth Annual Anarchist Conference in San Francisco, from July 20th to the 25th. Most of almost two thousand participants were young people, many of which were students.

Although most of the participants considered themselves anarchists, there was a significant disdain for "work" and therefore labor in general. Most of the labor-related workshops at the Conference were attended by relatively smaller numbers and the same core of individuals. If the Conference was any indication of the current North American

anarchist movement, it is clear that anarchists have lost touch with their working-class roots.

The major reason for this was that young people (including students) did not see themselves as workers and therefore lacked an interest in labor struggle and class analysis. In turn, many of those supposedly involved with revolutionary unionism dismissed the uninterested youth as lumpenproletarian countercultural freaks that deserve little attention.

If the North American anarchist movement wants to grow and be a genuine threat to the powers that be and if revolutionary unionism is to be a bona fide force to be reckoned with, the gap between labor and young people must be closed. Young people

must begin to see themselves as workers or as future workers while labor must accept the integral historical and contemporary importance of young people to the class struggle. If not, young people will continue to be alienated from the working class and labor will be missing an essential ally in the class struggle.

Several young people in Santa Barbara, California, have begun to bridge the gap between labor and youth by using the IWW and direct action. Many of these new Wobblies are students at the University of California at Santa Barbara (UCSB). The conditions for student workers are dismal. Wages are low (averaging about \$5 per hour), student part-time and "casual" (summer) workers are eligible for no benefits, and students have no role in workplace decision-making.

Moreover, the company union at the University makes no effort to reach out to student workers. All of this, added to the lack of class consciousness among students, results in our work being cut out for us.

An organizing drive of student and other unorganized UCSB workers is planned to commence when school begins in late September. Wobblies are already active in the ranks of summer student workers and successful job actions have been accomplished.

An example of the value of direct economic action among "casual" student workers includes a job action by custodians. The UCSB Residential Services summer custodial crew executed a successful job action several weeks ago. The first day of work, the boss passed out a sheet outlining the work rules for the summer. Among the list was a rule that workers are forbidden from listening to music on the job because it "decreases productivity." The importance of music in coping with the monotony and boredom of the job was understood by all custodians, consequently leading to discussions about what to do about the "no music" rule. The two job actions considered were either to occupy the boss' office until he rescinded the rule or

to simply ignore the rule and listen to music on the job.

After talking about the necessity for solidarity amongst custodians, speaking to and gathering the support of the maids for a job action (since they would be the most likely internal replacements if the custodial crew was fired), and waited a couple more weeks into the summer to allow other students to find jobs and therefore making it harder to externally replace the custodians, the latter option was chosen because it would be easier to execute.

The next day, most of the custodians brought in radios. The boss saw the custodial crew listening to music on the job and did not say a word. In short, the power of solidarity and direct economic action rendered the ridiculous rule impotent because the rule was not supported with any type of disciplinary action.

Organizing around a seemingly unimportant issue, like listening to music on the job, had wider ramifications; the job action was both a bond of solidarity among workers (only one of which is a Wobbly) and an indication to the boss that he does not have dictatorial power over the work process and that workers acting together have tremendous power.

Since the custodial and maid crews are "casual", an IWW organizing drive is unrealistic because there is not enough time to organize a successful campaign. However, the benefits of worker solidarity and direct economic action have impacted some of the least class conscious students. This is an indication that the tactics of the IWW are attractive to young workers, even to some class unconscious student workers. It is also an indication that the IWW is one possible vehicle to overcome the artificial tension between youth and labor.

Karen Zapata
Jaime Acton
Dave Karoly

Wherehouse

Continued from page 1

direct action to protect their workplace and defend their jobs in an openly hostile atmosphere. The IWW perspective on shop floor control, direct action, self-reliance, as well as a radical vision of a cooperative commonwealth, fit the needs of the workers. The workers at People's Wherehouse, except for a few anti-unionists, had all become card-carrying wobs by spring 1984.

Presented with a request from the newly organized Job Branch for voluntary recognition as bargaining agent, the MFFC Management and Board of Directors refused unequivocally. The Job Branch then petitioned the NLRB for a certification election. Ironically the management challenged the workers right to a union on the grounds that they were all really managers, and had no right to a union. The NLRB administrative judge heard managements absurd reasoning just long enough to dismiss it. A date was set for a certification election.

The IWW won the election with a near unanimous vote and became the bargaining agent for warehousing, trucking, purchasing, consumer services and milling. The election was a complete victory for the organizing efforts of the union. Shortly after the union victory the ex-Kroger manager quit, protesting that his resignation had "nothing to do with the union".

Six years have passed. Three contracts have been ratified. Seven managers have come and gone... yet the same issues remain contested in the workplace. The Board of Directors has never made peace with the presence of the union, or with the workers participation in Wherehouse decision-making, which is guaranteed in the contract. Nor have the stream of managers who have passed through the business been able to accommodate their desire for power with the realities of a militant and well-organized union presence. Conflict has been constant at Peoples Wherehouse.

ALWAYS IN STRUGGLE

In the fall of 1988, the board made another push to crush the union. The union had negotiated a one year contract extension which included a cost of living adjustment, changes to the grievance procedure and new procedures for collecting agency fees from the non-union workers. Although the BOD directors had approved the agreement at its August meeting, the MFFC board did not fully support the agreement.

Towards the end of August, another manager was brought into the situation. This time, he was conferred with the grand title of Chief Executive Officer (CEO), and quickly set about his business. He convinced the Board that they did not have to abide by the contract. The Board then voted to "disapprove their approval". The CEO also began to reassign staff and to threaten and intimidate union activists. Then, finally, he fired a new employee without cause.

The Union responded to this with seven grievances, planned for an Unfair Labor Practice Strike, and organized a general and direct daily opposition to the CEO. The CEO began committing the resources of

the enterprise to a protracted industrial conflict. He engaged a union-busting law firm to convince the faint of heart on the Board that they could beat the union. As this was going on the President of the BOD approached the union leadership asking them to give up their demand to implement the agreed upon contract, and to not file unfair labor practice charges against MFFC. She stopped just short of asking for the Branch charter on a silver platter. All of this was supposed to be for "the good of the business".

Well the union persisted. The new CEO was dismissed by the Board. Solidarity proved much stronger than threats and recriminations. The fired employee was reinstated in her job and the contract remained in force. All with much pain and struggle.

This brings us to the current situation. Sadly, after all this time the same issues remain contested. The struggle to maintain shop floor control and protect the rights of employees at Peoples Wherehouse has been long bitter and at times vicious. Contrary to superficial appearances labor relations in cooperatives are anything but cooperative. At every step workers have encountered the same opposition from coop Bosses as workers experience in traditional capitalist enterprises.

Our current bosses have presented the same type of proposals in negotiations as past management. Gut worker participation in management decision making, Gut job security, eliminate positions from the bargaining unit, allow managers to make arbitrary decisions on every aspect of our work life. We believe that we shall once again prevail.

The constant battle fought out at Peoples Wherehouse illustrates some important issues of special relevance to getting wobs organized. At PW, a union was organized and maintained for the past 8 years. New members routinely join up and are educated in the ways of the Wobblies, negotiating contracts, and fighting to right grievances.

We plan to recount our story in some detail in upcoming issues of the Industrial Worker.



Ohio Organizing

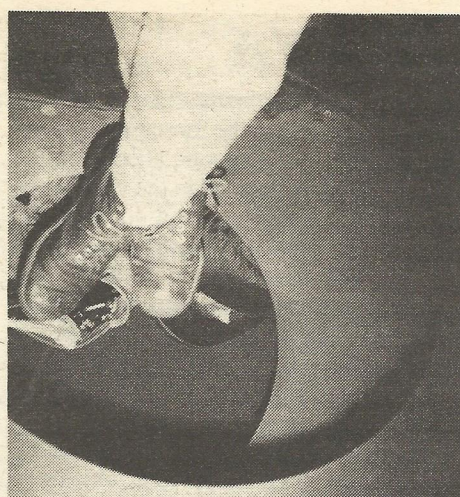
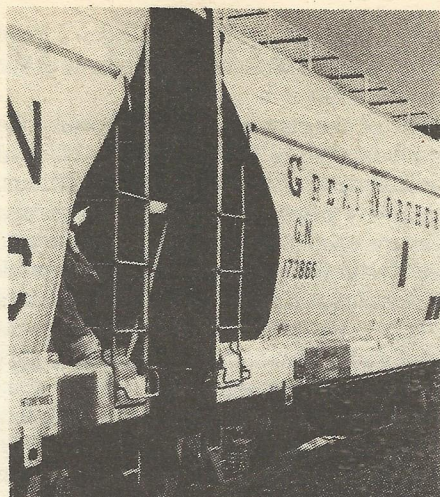
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fellow prisoners. Prisoncrats can compile more complete dossiers on prisoners, for future use and study by psychologists, penologists, and law enforcement agents.

Check this out, they've started an administratively sponsored LOVE Program (Let's Offset the Violent Environment) where ten prisoners, who hold meetings with prisoncrats present in the same room, discuss other prisoners who have beefs, say, unpaid debts, homosexuals, etc., and try to act as a buffer between the conflicting prisoners before a stabbing occurs. This is something we prisoners have done ON OUR OWN and WITHOUT PRISONCRATS hearing and recording it, for years. Suddenly prisoncrats want to make this a sponsored event. Why? It's obvious: so they can record the information for later use. But so far the majority of prisoners don't see what's happening around them and we are trying to open their eyes and promote a level of consciousness as to what is going on.

PRISONERS AS WORKERS

On legal fronts: the 4th District Court of Appeals ruled against us in Perotti, Steward, IWW vs. Ohio State Employment Relations Board. They said that prisoners cannot be classified as public employees because "persons serving sentences in penitentiaries are not there by virtue of 'appointment' or 'employment'". Both words connote the idea of voluntariness. One may decline an appointment or refuse employment, and even after accepting one may quit at any time. These options are not available to inmates." This is not true. A prisoner at SOCF signs a "contract" to work in the Ohio Penal Industries, is clocked for sick leave, visits or recreation time, and CAN quit at any time! Though if he quits and refuses work altogether, he is placed in isolation. Preparations are being made for further appeal. Fellow Worker Scott recently won his appeal and got his death penalty conviction overturned to life. Our other Fellow Workers on death row are optimistic on their appeals. A



Rail workers (left) are often quite helpful. Bulk loaders (middle) have an access hole at their front, in which the author (right) shelters.

Hopping Freight to Convention '89

If I could get to Edmonton by August 13th, I should be able to hook-up with the Grievous Angels. The Angels were playing at the Edmonton Folk Festival, and would be returning east in their rented Winnibago. My hope was to be driven to Sault Ste. Marie, where I could drop south to Chicago's Wobbly convention.

Since I was in Vancouver on the evening of the 10th, with 1000 kilometres, and the Canadian Rockies, between the me and my goal, I didn't have much time for error. Thanks to the generosity of Eastside Datagraphics, I had 75 bucks in my otherwise empty pockets as payment for services rendered. This allowed me to buy some cans of lentils, green beans, sardines, a compass, and new batteries for my flashlight. I bummed a map off Fellow Worker Calvin Woida, who had housed me since he found me asleep in the brightly painted playhouse outside his door. FW Bill Culp, as a former railway worker, was able to tell me which rail yard follows the northern route to Edmonton, instead of east to Calgary.

I packed all my belongings into one backpack, and drove out to the darkened yard with

Calvin. After the car drove away, I began walking along the chain-link fence, topped with barbed wire. I passed several well-lighted openings in various gates, but preferred to trespass in a darker area. Once I was in the yard, I walked towards the boxcars in the distance.

Intense yard lights caused depth perception to go out of whack, with the world transformed into islands of reflected light in a sea of solid black. I walked confidently across an open area, as someone who worked here might, and climbed on the side ladder of a car, swinging to the catwalk between the cars only when my grip was secure. In the Toronto yards, I had learned how the calm night can be shattered in a sudden crashing jolt, when the force of another car hitting the couplings ripples down from a hundred cars ahead. Pity the slob who wasn't hanging on tight.

I pass through three trains this way, taking a look at the manifests taped or stapled to the sides of the cars. These tell you where they are coming from, going to and what's in them. I make sure to replace them.

Not finding a train going my way, I peer out on the other side of the three trains. There is a dirt road, a ditch, a "jungle" of weeds and bushes, another ditch, another road, and then a long line of bulk loaders that are clearly marked as grain cars.

I make my way to the jungle, where I hunker down to watch and listen. Far up the road, I can see a truck coming. It appears to be stopping at each car and, as it comes closer, the hiss of steam can be heard whenever it stops. This is good, I think; if a brakeman is checking the pressure lines, odds are good that the cars are rolling out soon.

I decide to not approach the man in the truck; the crackling radio he is constantly talking into unnerves me. When he has passed, I walk across to the train and hop onboard and then over the other side. I look for manifests, but find none. I don't know what this means, but I suspect it means they are empty and are going back. Being Canadian wheat cars, I'm almost sure they're going in my direction.

Suddenly, the air is filled with a creaking crash as several engines are slammed into the front of the cars. Slowly, the cars are pulled

forward. I am frozen with indecision: I have no guarantee this train won't cut east towards Calgary. It is moving faster now, I don't have much time to decide. I grab a passing rung and swing up. Sticking my flashlight into the service hole at the front of the car, I see it is covered with oil. I jump off, almost falling, and begin running beside the rumbling giant. The car passes me and I am able to swing onto the car behind. No turning back now, this thing is going too fast and yard buildings are coming up on my left. I dive inside the access hole, frantically pulling my backpack with me.

I can see a cluster of people pass outside. I feel the floor, and am rewarded with the feel of dry dust, as opposed to oil.

Before long, I see that the track has narrowed to one or two lines; we are out of the yard. I turn on my light and inspect my surroundings. Outside, there is a metal "porch" that is as wide as the car and extends four feet ahead. I am inside a two and a half foot hole with similar holes to the left and right emptying into small compartments with not quite enough space to lay down straight. The walls were fire-engine red, and fine dust covered everything.

I crawled out and stood against the railing, wind in my face, as we rushed alongside the Fraser River. After spending a few hours watching the scenery and singing myself hoarse on Joe Hill's song "Where the Fraser River Flows," I unrolled my sleeping bag, stuffed toilet paper in my ears to lessen the pounding of the wheels beneath me, and fell into a cramped sleep.

I awoke at dawn to chill mountain air. As the sun filled the sky somewhere unseen in the east, the shapes of the Canadian Rockies rose up around me. Wind whipping at me as we travelled high passes above rivered valleys, I thought that if I had to die, this was how I'd like to go.

Vivid images run past my eyes now: of plunging into the damp blackness of a mountain, then exploding back into daylight as we shoot out onto a fragile bridge five hundred feet above the green and white fury of some nameless river. Tens of thousands of nests bored into the sandy cliff-face by a century of birds, a black bear running beside the track, the mineral-rich lakes of opulent blues and greens, white capped majesty reaching up to blot out the sky, and the clear-cut forests shaved off the face of the earth.

Shortly after midnight, I woke to the final crashes of a stopped train. Outside is a yard, which I figure is Jasper. I go back to sleep, but by dawn, we haven't moved. I get out and inspect the yard. After five hours of watching the trains, and dodging railway police, I have figured out that there are two trains, including mine, that are being "made up" with additional cars, plus two others on the other side of a wide dirt road. Finally, at 11am, a line of grain cars moves out on the other side of the road. I make a dash across the open and swing on board.

It was in the Jasper yards that I came across clear evidence that hopping trains was still a widespread means of transpo. I remember looking into one access hole and seeing a neatly folded map sitting next to a pack of cigarettes, two other holes had old manifests scattered about inside, and the hole I rode out of Jasper in had wooden boards to insulate you from the cold metal floor.

As we left the Mountains, I was startled when I looked up the cars ahead and saw another person's head sticking out from the car directly before mine. An hour later, we pulled over to a side track to let another train by, and an old guy got up out of the jungles at the side of the track and ambled over to the tracks, disappearing onto a car near the caboose!

As it turned out, I was able to meet my friends in Edmonton and drive across Canada until I dropped south to Chicago. But, that trip has really sold me on the use of Freight trains for long-distance travel. I strongly recommend its use to any Wobblies wishing to break free of the druggery of hitching, and the expense of commercial travel. More visiting and hospitality between union members would no doubt bolster the forces of solidarity in this union, much as the web of relations did in the earlier, more transient, days of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Ted Dymont

memorial ceremony is being planned for outside the prison by the Southwest Ohio IWW General Membership Branch to spread Joe Hill's ashes outside the prison fences.

RETALIATION AGAINST PEROTTI

Fellow Worker Perotti is still confined to the J1 Supermax Control Unit. His 1987 civil suit against the guards who beat him was affirmed in February 1989, but the guard still has not paid the judgment. The state's attorney general's office has filed 'writs of execution' in Scioto County Court of Common Pleas to garnish fellow workers Perotti and Brumfield's money to pay court costs from lost appeals. To illustrate the sleaziness of Ohio's attorney general, they called the county where Perotti was convicted on his criminal charge, told them Perotti's jury award of \$2000 was affirmed, and asked the county to compose a letter stating the amounts owed for court costs for any previous convictions. Then Ohio assistant attorney general Fixler tried to "negotiate" a deal, where Perotti dismisses guard captain Brown from the punitive damage awards, which by law he must pay, and the state would pay the compensatory damages. Yet he would not agree to release FWs Perotti and Brumfield from their old debt for court costs on lost appeals. To add insult to injury, at every roll call (guard meeting before coming to their post) donations are being collected to pay guard Brown's punitive damage award. Punitive damages are to penalize the defendant and send a message to all guards that they are not to beat handcuffed prisoners. By the guards collecting this money ON DUTY, they are in effect sending a message to the courts that they will beat prisoners with impunity, and "look to their own" if found liable in court.

As it stands, the judgment hasn't been paid, and SOCF officials have been retaliating against Perotti for not taking the deal by spreading false rumors about him, writing false tickets and intensifying their campaign of harassment towards him and other Fellow Workers.

Upcoming trials are for guards beating Fellow Worker Perotti at the old Ohio pen in

1982; Perotti's criminal trial; Fellow Workers Scott, Byrd, Wolfel and Perotti where prisoncrats confiscated and punished them for sending a human rights complaint to Amnesty International; and a massive suit challenging conditions in isolation blocks and medical department which are cruel and unusual, and illegal placement and retention in isolation. U.S. District Judge Speigal and our expert witness Ken Schoen will tour the isolation blocks in August.

Prisoncrats have responded by moving whole ranges of men in isolation, painting their cells, and generally attempting to portray a false image to the court. To counter this, prisoners are doing all they can to neutralize these attempts by prisoncrats in perpetuating a fraud upon the court. Judge Speigal has been notified of the above. Prisoncrats responded by moving some of the leaders over to the Disciplinary Control Block, isolating them even from the regular isolation blocks. The struggle continues among prisoners of conscience.

There have been three prisoners murdered, over 20 stabbings, and numerous assaults in the past 6 months. We urge all prisoners to set aside their petty differences and work together to fight the real enemy: our oppressors. Prisons should be neutral grounds for all races, gangs, religions, and other factions as this is the class war: the rich prisoncrats against the poor in the prisons. The IWW urges all prisoners to express solidarity amongst themselves and not allow prisoncrats to DIVIDE and CONQUER.

It is WE who run the prisons. Without our labor in the OPI shops, food service, clerks jobs, the prisons would shut down. WE control our destiny. There IS strength in numbers. The people in China just showed us this, Solidarity in Poland has proved this, remember Attica!!! We must continue to speak out against injustices and utilize all forms available, be it the courts, media or prison hallways and cell blocks. We must be able to pick up the pen as well as the sword. Remember these words:

"If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom and yet depreciate agitation are people who want

crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. That struggle might be a moral one; it might be a physical one; it might be both moral and physical, but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without demand. It never did and it never will. People might not get all they work for in this world, but they must certainly work for what they get."

**Frederick Douglas,
Abolitionist**

As long as we sit back and accept what is served us on the cold 73 platter, we will continue to eat cold gruel. It is up to us to bring about change. Think about it, then take action rather than just sit back. This is OUR struggle.

The IWW is behind our efforts for positive change. Anyone interested or seeking membership should contact:

John Perotti 167712
Jay D. Scott 178850
John Byrd 175145
Southern Ohio Corr. Facility
P.O. BOX 45699
Lucasville, OH. 45699-0001

Dennis Wolfel 145554
Paul Brumfield 145366
Lebanon Corr. Facility
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Lebanon, OH 45036

Lisa Forbes N77122
Dwight Corr. Inst. for Women
P.O. BOX 5001
Dwight, IL 60420

Sonya K. Clark #17400
Ohio Reformatory for Women
1479 Collins Ave.
Marysville, OH 43040

Reuben Slaton
SWO IWW GMB/GDC Local 1
P.O. BOX 26381
Dayton, OH 45426

Of Interest



To Unionists

State's Fastest Spending on Jails

August 7 - Spending for prisons is the fastest growing part of state budgets, according to a report by the national Conference of State Legislatures, growing 14.2% this year, while elementary and secondary education grew 7.8%. Still, prisons account for about 2.5% of state spending while education accounts for about half. The number of prisoners in both state and federal prisons has nearly double from 1980 to 1988, from 329,821 inmates in 1980 and 627,402 in 1988.

Guatemalan Union Harassment

August - As of 1988, the government of Guatemala has refused to recognize the Sindicato Central de Trabajadores Municipales (SCTM), Municipal Workers Union, and maintains that the union no longer exists. Municipal workers have recently begun meeting again to ask for salary increases and to protest against the practice of a food-for-work program that is being forced on municipal workers. Since the meetings have been taking place, intimidating tactics have been used against the workers. Amnesty International has protested against the attempted intimidation of one member, Carlos Perez Oscar, who has been followed through the streets by men whom he believes are attached to the Guatemala City police. Perez Oscar has previously been the object of one "disappearance," on September 17, 1987, when he was seized by heavily armed men in plain clothes after leaving a SCTM meeting. He was held for three days, then left badly beaten in a gully. Amnesty international members have sent telegrams urging an end of the harassment of Guatemalan unions, not sending letters because of the August postal workers' strike.

US Munition Mongers Get Fatter

Washington, July 31 - US arms sales to the third world rose 66% last year, to \$9.2 billion, while Soviet sales dropped 47% to \$9.9 billion. The US and SU together accounted for nearly two-thirds of all arms sales to developing countries, according to a recent report from the Congressional Research Service. The big increase in US Sales is attributable to major "new orders from traditional buyers and an agreement with Kuwait for the purchase of 40 F-18 aircraft and various missiles for an estimated \$1.9 billion."

The Middle East was the largest arms market, receiving two-thirds of all weapons delivered to the third world in the last four years. Sales to Iran and Iraq accounted for 21.5% of arms sales by all suppliers to the third world in the last eight years. In that period Iran bought a total of \$17.5 billion worth of arms, Iraq bought \$47.3 billion and the third world as a whole bought \$301.4 billion worth of arms. After the US and the SU, France is the third largest weapons peddler.

The good news is that even though US arms sales to the third world rose last year, the total value of sales by all suppliers declined to \$29.7 billion from \$37.2 billion in 1987. Overall, sales in 1988 were at the lowest level since 1983.

Peruvian Miners Press Strike

Lima, Peru, August 14 - Peruvian miners have gone on strike indefinitely, shutting down much of the country's metal industry. The 70,000 member Miners' Federation, which began the collective bargaining rights and wage and benefit increases, ignored calls from church and government leaders to return to work. The strike added to a wave of walks by doctors, bank workers and others, caused partly by rampant inflation.

Ottawa

Ottawa Wobs during the summer of 1989 have been assisting in the formation of resistance to new state-corporate attacks on the poor. An action is planned in the near future to raise public awareness and confront the Ontario Social Services Ministry in the courts as having introduced illegal welfare cuts. The same campaign attempts to unite several issues, including the negative effect of social service cuts on working conditions and wages, and the issue of single mothers as exploited workers.

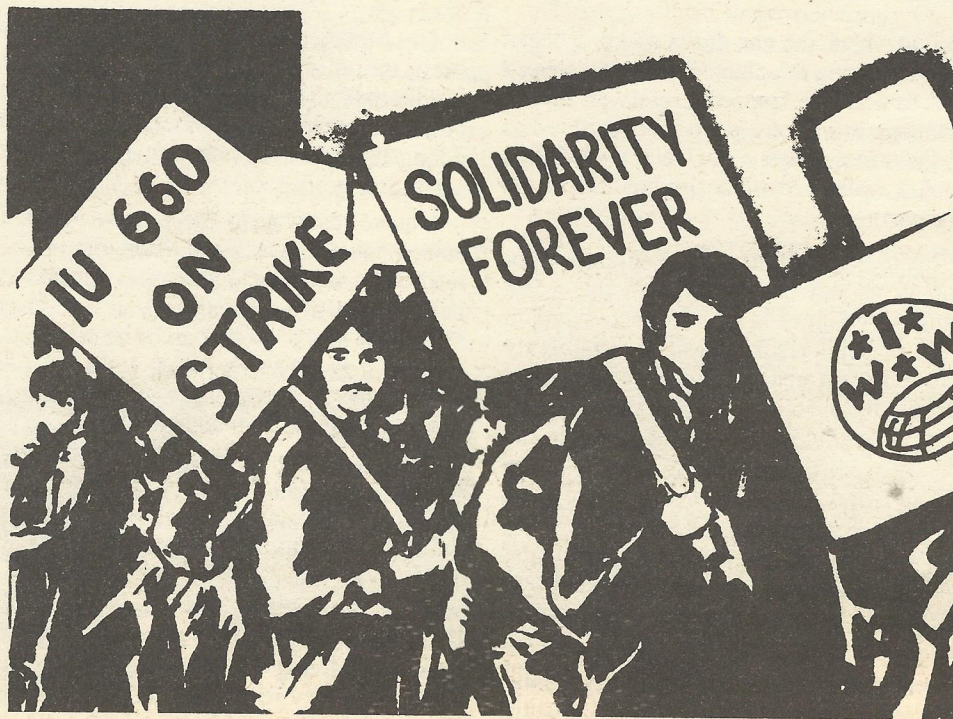
Our program consists of sharing food by having picnics on a parcel of land which was formally designated by the City for affordable housing, but where the current mayor wants to build a baseball stadium. We have obtained permission to occupy these lands from their original owners, the Algonquin

Indians. We wanted to draw together a lot of single issues to show up the big picture. We have done this in a pamphlet.

One of our members has just become the third woman to be accepted into the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters, Local 71. I talk to people where I work at a furniture shop and leave literature laying around. It is difficult to provide workers with an incentive since it is a small business and the boss is not too bad. One worker expressed an interest in a dental plan. I am trying to get started-up doing labour news spots on Carleton University radio. If it works out, this will be a great opportunity to raise the IWW profile at the university and in the alternative community.

The main obstacle we face here is that we are all too busy to do as much as we would like.

By Mynor Variante



Wobs in Action

Vancouver 1

The IWW is not a union in the conventional sense. As only a relative handful of members are organized in job shops, the General Membership Branch becomes the primary expression of IWW philosophy and activity. GMB's have most certainly been involved in organizing job shops, negotiating contracts and the like, but more energy has been devoted to social, political, and cultural activities. Often this has involved outreach to local labour and social movements.

Vancouver Branch has had a myriad of experiences dealing with labour and activist groups. Some have been worthwhile, while others have left a bad taste in our mouths.

It's been our experience that some Solidarity groups have much to learn in terms of actually practicing it. One group in particular requested our help in organizing a benefit for South African trade unionists. When time came to return the favour, mutual aid was not forthcoming. Some now believe that solidarity must be a two-way street. To be blunt, if others do not support us, why should we bother with them?

One way in which we have been involved supporting various struggles has been through our video showings. Often coupled with a speaker, video nights have enabled us to educate and inform people in our community about such issues as apartheid, clear-cut logging, the Iran-Contra scandal, and efforts by British Columbia native people to regain control over their traditional lands.

On the labour front, we have been reasonably successful in establishing links with some of the smaller, more militant trade unions. When workers in a Vancouver restaurant chain went on strike, Wobblies were instrumental in forming a community support group. We leafleted non-union outlets in support of a boycott and organized a "sip-in" at one restaurant whereby about 20 people occupied table space singing the old favourites and sipping coffee ever so slowly.

Some Vancouver Branch members now feel we should spend more time supporting ourselves. There is a growing consensus that our own activities, our own organizing initiatives, must come first. As Wobs, we have walked picket lines and carried the branch banner in support of nuclear disarmament and against repressive laws and institutions. It is also important that we continue to do these things. But we also need to strengthen and build this organization, this union, and place that at the top of our agenda. We cannot do otherwise if we want the IWW to survive as a viable alternative.

Calvin Woida

Vancouver 2

The recent wave of enthusiasm for reintroducing the IWW to the North American workplace has definitely not missed Vancouver Wobs.

Last year, Vancouver Branch members initiated six organizing attempts while two other projects are presently on hold. Furthermore, one Vancouver Wob has been looking into the development of a union-controlled health benefits package for workers in the four IWW shops in the area.

However, while the news of the organizing campaigns produced a temporary surge of energy and roughly doubled the branch size to about 70 members (not all currently paid up), the success rate for actually gaining shops has been less than perfect. Only one of the last six campaigns has resulted in an IWW shop charter — Mac Underground Pacific, an electronic communications cooperative (IU 560), signed up last December.

This not-so-great situation has given local Wobs a taste of the realities of trying to put IWW principles to work in today's workplaces. We've learned that it takes a lot more than just advocating Wobbly philosophy and talking about our structure and history for a group of workers to sign up with our union.

One campaign was killed in its infancy for economic reasons. This 11-employee newspaper recycling firm closed down shortly after two contracts were made. Three other

organizing drives were unsuccessful largely due to the inability to maintain contacts in what were low-paying, high-turnover businesses. A note-worthy point here is that it may be easier to organize more stable enterprises where workers have a bigger stake, yet what about cheap service-oriented outfits which employ mostly young people — many of whom are immigrants — and are characterized by lousy working conditions.

Most unions don't bother with these places, saying that they are too difficult to organize. Perhaps it is better to start off with more stable or sympathetic places until enough expertise and resources are available to take on more difficult projects.

Probably the most disappointing organizing drive took place at the high profile Downtown Eastside Residents' Association (DERA), an anti-poverty community group.

In February, two workers at the 21-member advocacy and research collective heard the Vancouver IWW was setting up a benefits package and inquired about organizing their workplace. Two fellow workers developed contacts and set up a meeting with the DERA workers to explain the union's principles and structure.

The response was favourable. DERA members especially liked the decentralized and democratic nature of our union, and the emphasis on direct action, solidarity, and self-management.

However, to be fair, DERA also invited two reps from the Canadian Labour Congress (business unions) affiliates to state what they had to offer. But after several follow-up meetings between the contacts and the branch, it appeared DERA was not impressed with these unions, and it looked like they would sign with us.

When the vote was taken, however, we lost. Apparently, some of the senior and more influential DERA workers decided that, in spite of their admiration for the IWW, it would be more practical and politically wise to sign with the Canadian Union of Public Employees, and convinced a majority of workers to vote that way.

Obviously, we represent an ideal — the way unions should be — and this is how we are seen by many sympathetic workers. The question is how do we convince people that the IWW can be more than an ideal, but a practical alternative, and that making efforts to build an IWW job shop can pay off in a concrete way.

Many core activists in the branch are beginning to rethink their positions on grassroots union-building and how to better apply IWW goals to today's working environment. Any suggestions?

Marco Procaccini

Champaign/Urbana

Although we number only a handful of paid-up members, Champaign-Urbana Wobs are working overtime fanning the flames of discontent. For several years now, local Wobs have participated in our local community radio station, broadcasting labor and other subversive programming to the twin cities and the surrounding corn fields. Recent programs have boosted the grape boycott, discussed attempts to raise the minimum wage, condemned capitalism's reckless destruction of our environment, and called for solidarity with China's independent (and brutally suppressed) labor movement.

The C-U IWW Group has also been organizing pickets of local Shell gas stations, in solidarity with South African workers, and in boosting the Hormel boycott. We regularly leaflet at local rallies and picket lines to spread the One Big Union message, and have recently issued a new leaflet asking the age-old question, "Can You Afford Your Boss?"

We are in the process of organizing a labor film series for this Fall, and hope to organize the twin cities' first May Day commemoration in many years. IWW members are also involved in the publication of an independent anarcho-syndicalist journal, the Libertarian Labor Review, and in organizing efforts among Teaching and Research Assistants at the University of Illinois—whose wages are so low that many fall below the federal poverty line.

IWW in Ann Arbor

The local general membership branch was formed in the mid- 70s. By 1980 there were about 75 members and two job shops under contract, the University Cellar Bookstore, and a print shop. In the 1980s the GMB peaked at about 150 members, has been active organizing workers in printing, general distribution, public service, as well as unemployed workers and students; and taken part in several solidarity coalitions. We have had a shop floor presence in eight workplaces. Members have engaged in many job actions including two strikes. What follows are brief histories of a couple of the industries and work sites we have been active in through the 80's.

THE PRINTING AND PUBLISHING WORKERS

In the summer of 1981 the last union print shop in Ann Arbor came under attack with a lock out of the unionized employees. IU450 members walked the picket line and aided in establishing secondary pickets of costumers of the scab shop. After a long strike the union was decertified when only scabs were allowed to vote. Wobbly shop floor actions around health and safety issues carried on at other local printshops but no job shop organizations came from those efforts. Wobbly printers carried their wobbly tactics to other print shops. At one a direct action campaign on the shop floor improved health and safety and other shop floor conditions over an extended period, but never achieved organized control.

Printing worker organizing activities later led to the creation of an Ann Arbor Printers Cooperative as be a worker owned-worker managed print shop. The coop functioned for four years. By 1984 it had devolved into a privately held partnership, now affiliated with the Allied Printing Trades union.

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION WORKERS VICTORY AND STRUGGLE

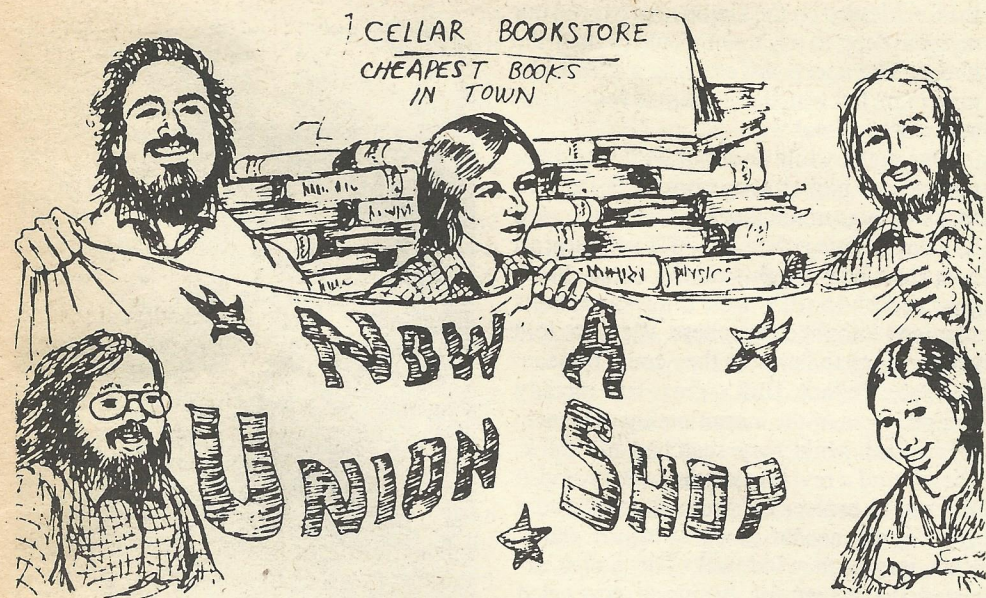
Two years ago local bankers and the towns largest business — the University of

The University Cellar branch of IU 660 existed from February, 1979, when workers won a NLRB certification election, to December, 1986, when the bookstore went out of business. Membership hovered at around 75 members throughout this period, making the U-Cellar branch the unions largest Wobbly local at the time.

The IWW came late to the U-Cellar. The store — non-profit, offering large discounts — was the direct product of a massive student sit-in and arrest in September, 1969, which itself was the culmination of the student power movement at the University of Michigan in the late sixties. Right from the beginning in 1970 workers enjoyed great autonomy in their jobs and some overall store control, including the right to make collective hiring and firing decisions. It took the arrival of a manager uncomfortable with the stores unconventional nature — and determined to impose a hierarchy — to provide the impetus for the unions rise.

A three day strike in August, 1979 led to the signing of the first labor contract, which was renegotiated on a yearly basis. Besides a relatively high average wage, the union was able to secure generous health benefits, strong job security protection, advanced workplace health and safety provisions (including VDT guidelines now beginning to be considered elsewhere), maternity leave and extended personal leave provisions, and profit sharing. Just as important, workers helped devise the stores democratic decision making process and made it function.

By 1986 yearly sales had surpassed \$6 million, and the store held a dominant share of the highly competitive student textbook and supplies market in Ann Arbor. Unfortunately, the Cellar had been forced by the University to move into a larger but less well placed storefront in 1982, and from then on struggled financially. At the same time it was getting harder and harder to recruit new workers willing to engage in participative management. For many newcomers, the Cellar was just another job. They joined the union and paid dues, but few went to meetings or took an interest in store-wide problems.



Michigan — forced the University Cellar Bookstore to close. Eighty IWW members were forced into the unemployment line, many of these workers are only now becoming stable in their new jobs.

The IWW experience at the University Cellar bookstore in Ann Arbor was an exciting experiment in worker management of a major retail business. The union struggled to exist, and, once in place, provided a vehicle for workers to gain control over as much of their work lives as possible. To an astonishing degree, it was successful; eventually, however, it became a victim more of worker indifference than management hostility. At the end, worker participation in the union was at an all-time low. Nevertheless, the union created an enviable work environment and helped the democratically-managed Cellar provide a service to the Ann Arbor community by selling merchandise at substantial discounts.

In retrospect, hiring should have been made contingent on workers' enthusiasm for collective management and on their willingness to make a real commitment to the store. The union should also have made self-education in group process and decision making a priority; only a few members had any training in how to function as part of a group. As a result a few determined people could often make important decisions. And animosities eroded the sense of group solidarity and purpose that, along with an extremely competent staff, had always been the Cellar's big asset in the struggle against local competitors, most of them national chain outlets.

None of this is to say the Cellar job branch failed; but we should have seen the problems more clearly and addressed them. Still, for most of us the University Cellar will be remembered for providing about as close to the ideal work environment as we will ever experience.

THE RESURGENCE OF THE ANN ARBOR TENANTS UNION

The Ann Arbor Tenants Union was formed by university students and community activists in 1968 with a 2000 apartment rent strike that disrupted the local court system and challenged the power of landlords in a mass way.

Over the years the AATU became an advice and lobbying group, and survived. In 1984 IWW members became active as staff and volunteers at the TU and the practices of self-organization, direct action and people power instead of politician power were brought back to the Tenants Union. Struggling against landlordism is empowering for working people.

Issues of feminism have been important to TU staff and volunteers. Most of the people organizing at the place of reproduction are women. They may hold jobs too, maybe even have a male around the house, but it seems that when it comes to taking care of the home front, even when that means outright class struggle, it's often still "women's work".

The racist nature of class oppression is also apparent in TU work. Ann Arbor is a re-segregated city with black homelands at its borders and the eighties have seen the displacement of thousands who can not stay due to rising rents.

Through the TU experience many GM members came to realize that working people spend almost all of their time in two places — where you work and where you live. And that in these places the struggle with capital is most direct and most felt, and where working people have the most power to struggle against the oppressions of daily life. Through struggle in these two areas of daily life we believe it is possible to develop class consciousness.

The TU is now organized as worker-collective and has been an IWW shop since 1986.

A FEW LESSONS LEARNED

One worker struggling for her rights is a "trouble maker" — easily isolated by the boss and used as an example to other people in the workplace of what not to be. Two workers struggling for their rights are a UNION: a weak one perhaps, but one that will still strike fear into almost any boss. And one that will be able to win some gains for all on the job.

Bosses today are only slightly more sophisticated than the ones the IWW faced 80 years ago. Divide and rule is the axiom that the boss lives by. Racism, sexism and elitism are the primary ideological weapons. Co-optation, intimidation and reprisals are favored tactics. The boss will highlight and use every difference between workers to set us against one another. Equality, democracy and solidarity are the keys for fighting back. It is the UNION's primary role to develop and support these principles among workers.

When we act together as UNION at the point of production in our daily lives, no matter how small the group, it is possible through daily struggle to begin to proclaim FREEDOM from oppression and resist the exploitation.

For 80 years the program of the IWW has been EDUCATION, ORGANIZATION AND EMANCIPATION. To practice this program the union must struggle to create EQUALITY, DEMOCRACY AND SOLIDARITY.

A FEW COMMENTS ON TACTICS

Th S.E. Michigan General Meeting has never been dogmatic concerning the tactics workers employ to protect themselves. It is clear to us, though, that the tactics that fall under the heading DIRECT ACTION are by far the most formidable. Almost, every Wobbly affected job site has employed direct action against the boss at some time. The boss fears direct action by his slaves more than anything else in life. A direct challenge to the bosses' power can alter working conditions for years to come.

Of Interest



To Unionists

Chinese Nuclear Deaths

Beijing, August. 8 - Somehow, nuclear material seems to bring out the urge in governments to lie and conceal. For reasons best known to themselves, an official report recently issued by the Chinese government admitted that nuclear accidents alleged caused by workers' careless handling of radioactive materials killed 20 people and injured 1,200 in China from 1980 to 1985. This was China's first report on deaths caused by radioactivity.

Widespread Phone Strike

Telephone workers represented by the Communications Workers of America and the International Brotherhood (sic) of Electrical Workers walked out on strike in 15 states August 5th and 6th. In all about 160,000 operators, installers and other workers struck against the New York-based Nynex Corp., Pacific Telesis Group and Bell Atlantic.

Contract talks between the workers and four of the seven regional telephone companies, which were created when the American Telephone and Telegraph was broken up in 1984, broke down over pay and health benefits. Health care was the most persistent issue in most of the strikes, as the companies attempted to shift the cost of medical insurance from the employer to the worker at a time when the companies are making record profits. At Nynex, the company proposed that the employees pay some of the premiums for medical expenses that were previously paid in full by the company.

In the West contract negotiations broke down over the issue of whether pay scales for jobs dominated by men were going up faster than those for jobs dominated by women, as well as the health care pay issue.

"The compensation offer they made would have widened the pay gap by giving a lower rise in base pay to people who earn less now, predominantly women," said Vira Millrida, a representative of the California regional office of the CWA.

On August 13, 39,500 more telephone workers joined the strike, walking out in five Midwest states against Ameritech and its subsidiaries. The same day, however, a tentative pact was announced between western based US West and the CWA, pending ratification by the union membership.

On August 20, CWA members striking against the Pacific Telesis Group of phone companies in California and Nevada agreed to a tentative settlement. No details released.

Death on the Picket Line

Tuesday, August 15, Bay Shore, New York. A call to the information tape of Communication Workers of America (CWA) local 1101 today stated that formal talks would take place tomorrow between the union and company on the health care issue. In closing, Gale Murdock, local president said: "It is my sad duty to inform you that Gerry Horgan, strike captain of local 1103 in Winchester, New York, has died this afternoon. May God rest his soul."

On Monday, August 14, Gerry had jumped on the hood of a car being driven by a scab which had brushed against him. According to a reliable source, the scab became frightened and accelerated causing Gerry Horgan to be thrown from the car. Mr. Horgan was taken to the hospital suffering from head injuries and was reported to be in critical condition. Later that evening, Fred Salerno, president of New York New England Telephone asked both sides to remain calm for the duration of the strike.

On Tuesday, CWA local 1103 president Ed Dempsey called Mr. Salerno to protest the actions which led to Gerry Horgan's death. According to my source, NYNEX president Fred Salernos response was: "This is no concern of ours."

Brian Mahoney

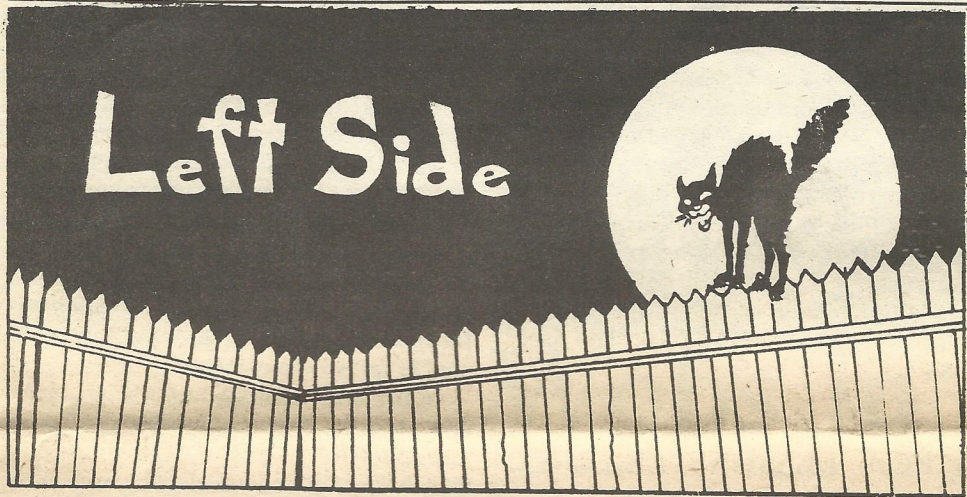
Continued from page 10

Revolt in Coal Fields

Continued from page 1

Why was the mood more militant, more desperate, than I have experienced in other recent struggles? There was a great deal of discussion about the fact that the unions must draw the line here. We let PATCO down by not showing sufficient solidarity. We are currently letting Eastern workers down. Only massive solidarity can save the union movement; and if a general strike is required, a general strike should be called. If union leaders do not have the courage, then the rank-and-file must take it on ourselves to save our unions. Only massive solidarity can equal the massive wealth and power of ruthless multinationals. They are picking us off one at a time.

I listened to this encouraging conversation until late in the evening and went to bed in our comfortable camper. I could not sleep, my mind racing with what I had heard. Based on what I had found in other strike situations, I had expected to find racism in southern Virginia; I was told, "Blacks work underground with us. They are our brothers." I had expected narrow nationalism; I heard, "Nicaragua is just another workers' struggle. They are fighting for better living conditions, just like us, and, just like us, the U.S. government is trying to break their strike."



Some members of the Windy City's uppah crust had themselves a grand bash at a construction site on that city's lakefront. This bash in question was for those who could fork over \$100 a head so naturally your humble scribe was not among those in attendance. Not that he would have been even if the price of admission had been more in harmony with his economic circumstances. While those who are able to live comfortably on what others contribute to their comforts may be perfectly lovable and charming people, yours truly can with modest effort find lovable and charming people among his own social strata.

Said construction site happens to be adjacent to the John G. Shedd Aquarium where by the Autumn of 1990 it shall culminate in a \$43 million "oceanarium" that will be equipped with man-made salt water. The Shedd Aquarium has finally succeeded in obtaining permission to capture three Beluga Whales in Canadian waters that will be used to stock this oceanarium.

Aside from the forty million invested in this "jail for Whales" and who knows how much will be blown keeping an ever-changing supply of synthetic sea water, the cost for each Whale is between six to eight thousand dollars per Whale plus \$50,000.00 shipping costs, one thing overlooked by these entrepreneurs and by no means passed on to us of the gullible public is the monumental indignity visited upon creatures who may well be our intellectual equals or even superiors.

It is well-known among certain scientists that the Whales have an aural means of communication with each other more complex even than our own and if in the near future communication can be established with them, who knows to what extent our own knowledge can be enriched.

The manner in which these Whales are captured alive is extremely cruel besides being disruptive to their familial and social structures. Already two of these Belugas are being held in Tacoma, Washington awaiting the completion of Chicago's oceanarium.

The appalling amount of money that will be expended in the building, stocking and

I lay awake. Sugar plum fairies would have ruined my mood. I listened to the tree frogs and the crickets and the rain on our roof while I tried to imagine a world run by workers.

When we woke, the Appalachians were shrouded in fog. The kitchen was serving sausage and eggs. I stepped outside and sucked in the humid air. It was refreshing. Colorado had been too dry this summer. I walked up to the kitchen and got directions to the picket shacks from Jack Bartee. He added directions to the grave of twenty-year-old Bennett Musick, who had been shot and killed in his home in 1937, when sheriff's deputies had tried to murder his father, who was a UMWA organizer in bloody Harlan County, Kentucky. Jack also warned me to watch for jack rocks, more affectionately known as "mountain spiders" (nails bent and welded together so that one point always stands up), which are thrown on the roads to cause flats on scab coal trucks and police vehicles. I had read about a state policeman who spotted one on the road, stopped his car, bent down to pick it up only to have it scurry into the woods. Skipping mountain spiders are attached to fishing line; and the camouflage suits serve a purpose.

I proceeded up the winding, narrow gravel roads, which follow the rivers, to the picket shacks. The fog was lifting, but patches remained and drifted from peak to peak. I

was surrounded by thick woods and beautiful mountains. The drive was enchanting. I visited several picket shacks, including the most famous at the Moss #3 preparation plant, where CBS' "48 Hours" did most of its filming of pickets being arrested and hauled to jail in school buses. I was disappointed. Federal courts had enjoined the Union, so that no more than six pickets could be at any gate. Scab trucks rolled freely, drivers sneering at the pickets. Just as Richard Trumka, UMWA president, said — when the unions find a tactic that works, the courts enjoin it and fine the unions heavily for using it. What might we learn from that?

I had not been at the picket shack more than a few minutes when Assets Protection Team goons (see Bili Savage's very good article in August IW) stopped on the highway and photographed my license plate. The pickets told me that in five minutes these robo-cops would know my name, where I lived, and more about me than my wife does. My "WOBBLY" plates probably interested them, also.

It became obvious in minutes that: one, the pickets were merely symbolic, as scab trucks went on their merry way protected by Plexiglass on their windows, steel plates over their radiators, and escorted by state police and APT teams, who were thicker than flies on rotten meat; and two, that someone was getting to their trucks despite their precautions, as huge dents, broken windshields, and even a few bullet holes were in evidence everywhere.

The pickets smiled and said, "We are switching to night duty." During the following nights I was to learn what they meant. Only enough activity went on during the day to keep the cops from sleeping, much of it as a diversion to cover more important escapades. The hills were crawling with camouflaged bodies armed with police scanners, two-way radios, and CB's. Police and APT movement is well monitored. I learned that when the sun goes down, jack rocks fall like rain; power lines come down; APT trucks, scab trucks, coal trucks get trashed; scab homes receive visits; and dynamite and guns are replacing whittling sticks. This is not Union policy, but rather the creativity of individual groups.

This change from strictly non-violent tactics to include more militant forms of direct action is a recent development brought about by the inflexibility of the Pittston Company and the corruption in the courts. The fines levied on the Union now exceed our national debt; to pay them would destroy the Union. The courts are creating a revolt. The miners are left with these alternatives — total surrender or total war.

One night, while on a tour with four other miners, our pickup was stopped in front of Moss #3 about midnight. We were surrounded by a dozen state police and APT vehicles, all with their bright lights turned on us. Shotguns and M-16 rifles were drawn and shells slammed into their chambers. We were told to keep our hands where they could be seen. Too late, Johnny Bull — we had already dumped most of the incriminating evidence. We waited while they searched the truck. They found a revolver on the seat, wrapped in a rag to protect it from scratches, and a hypodermic needle (used to squirt skunk scent into scab windows). The police arrested the driver for having a concealed weapon and drug paraphernalia. We chided the police that we shot up with skunk scent. They weren't amused.

The driver was handcuffed and pushed into a state police car. The rest of us were released. They were sure we were guilty of vandalism, but, in the blackness of the night, could find no evidence. The police were also becoming very nervous because silently, almost without notice, several hundred miners, dressed in camouflage, surrounded us. Where they came from, I don't know. Police scanners and two-way radios are a blessing. So is the black of night, for come the dawn, our trail would be more clear.

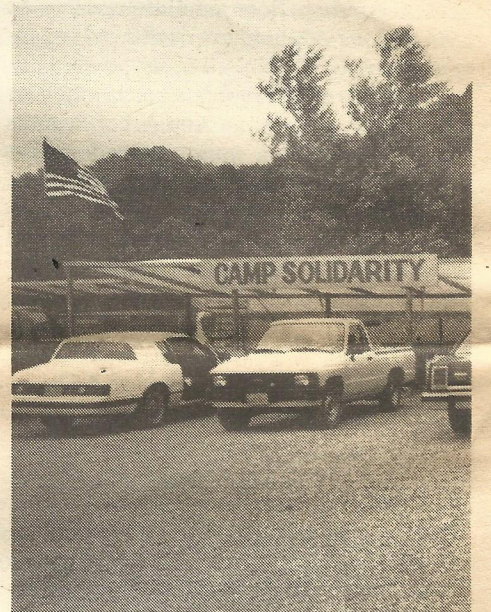
We flew down the twisting, narrow hollows to the Lebanon, Virginia, County Jail in pursuit of the police car carrying our driver. Almost before we got there, the president of our driver's local was there to post his \$5000 bail. I asked this local president how he knew of his arrest.

He smiled at me and explained that he was in the crowd surrounding the police. He said he was worried about this guy, as this was his third arrest. The next is an automatic jail term. He said, "We'll move him to less dangerous duty for a while."

I was impressed. This local president was in camouflage fatigues, out at midnight with the miners. He had himself been arrested three times; and, to confirm the evidence that racism is not the serious problem I had expected to find, he is black.

There were hundreds, maybe thousands, out that night, doing similar things. The irony is that auto workers, steel workers, teamsters, teachers, social workers, and Wobblies are down there going through direct action schooling and taking their lessons home with them. Better settle, corporate America. These lessons are extremely vital to the working class.

Who are the players in this drama being lived out in the Appalachian Mountains? Paul Douglas, Pittston CEO, son of the late senator of Illinois, took over the company in 1984. He and other coal operators have the obvious goal of crushing the UMWA. Douglas' salary is \$625,000 per year, and he enjoys the protection of a comfortable golden parachute. He finds nothing wrong in robbing thousands of miners who have been crippled in his coal mines of the medical insurance that his company had promised was "for a lifetime." If the company wants to save money, I know how to save \$625,000 a year with the stroke of a pen.



The president of Pittston, Michael Odom (the miners spell it Michael O. Dumb), thinks the miners are "out of step with reality." Do you have any grasp on the reality of a miner's life, Mr. Dumb — the danger, the guarantee of black lung? It is corporate America that has no grip on reality. Maybe soon reality will hammer corporate America between the eyes.

The governor of Virginia, Gerald Baliles, received \$265,000 in campaign contributions from coal operators, plus the use of their private planes and helicopters for his campaign. In return, he is to oppose severance taxes and provide the state police to keep the mines operating during labour disputes. It is costing the state a million dollars per month to provide the Pittston Coal Group with a private army, not counting court costs. Good investment, Mr. Douglas. Over 500 state police are in the coal fields, while the rest of

C.C. Redcloud.



Fannie Sellins: Coal Field Organizer

Fannie Sellins, a brave and talented union organizer, and Joseph Starzelski, a steelworker, were murdered on August 26, 1919 by the hired gunmen of the Allegheny Coal and Coke Company. Workers will gather at the Union Cemetery in Arnold, Pennsylvania on Sunday, September 3, 1989 at 1 pm to observe the 70th anniversary of Sellins and Starzelski's deaths.

The memorial service is sponsored by United Steel Workers of America (USWA) Local 1196 with many other area unions contributing support. An historical marker near the road passing the cemetery will be unveiled. Fannie Sellins' life — and her sacrifice — is no less significant than those of better known labor martyrs.

She was born in 1870, her family name was Mooney. She bore three daughters and two sons, she was left a widow and worked in the garment industry in St. Louis, Missouri where she began working as a union organizer among women garment workers. Until 1909, Sellins was President of Garment Workers' Local 67. "Loaned" to the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), she began organizing coal miners in Pennsylvania in 1913. Sellins worked in the tent colonies of the evicted strikers' families.

"My job was to distribute clothing and food to starving women and babies, to assist poverty stricken mothers and bring children into the world, and to minister the sick and close the eyes of the dying," she explained. Her work with the wives and children of the miners was a valuable asset in the miners' struggle.

Fannie was successful organizing in areas where male organizers had been brutalized and deported. Arrested for violating an injunction during the strike Sellins was warned by the judge "not to emulate Mother Jones." She paid no heed to this telling a strike meeting later: "I am free and I have a right to walk or talk any place in this country as long as I obey the law. I have done nothing wrong."

Sellins then went to New Kensington, Pennsylvania, to take part in the UMWA's organizing campaign in the Allegheny and Kiskiminetas valleys northeast of Pittsburgh, known to the UMWA as the "Black Valley" because of the area's intensely anti-union reputation. The valley had been closed to unions since 1893, when Apollo Steel defeated the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

This coal-rich region supported the development of numerous steel, glass and aluminum mills and heavy machinery factories from 1890 to the First World War. Employers fought all attempts at unionization by hiring, arming and deputizing gun thugs who terrorized workers and their families and by importing scabs.

1500 miners struck the Alle-Kiski mines in March 1916 for union recognition, an eight-hour day, higher wages and the institution of check-weighmen at the tipplers. Thousands more miners joined the strike through the summer, and violence became widespread in the region.

Especially intense violence erupted at the mines of Lewis Hicks. Assembling the largest private army in the area, Hicks and his companies waged war on the miners without restraint by civil authorities. After the United States entered World War One, a sort of labor peace reigned for a time in the Black Valley under the auspices of the War Labor Board and the terms of the national wage agreement of October 1917. With the war seeming to go on forever the miners began to seek relief from inflation and union recognition and the mineowners prepared to rid the valley of unionized labor.

By 1919 union activists were again organizing workers in the valley, mineworkers into the UMWA and steelworkers under the

auspices of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. The mineowners responded with armed thugs and the importation of strikebreakers. Fannie Sellins was in the thick of the fight, organizing miners and steelworkers and organizing Black workers brought in as scabs either to return home or to join the union.

William Z. Foster described Fannie Sellins as "one of the finest labor organizers I ever met.... In New Kensington she lined up 15,000 to 20,000 steel workers. Of the whole 80 centers this was the only one which had spontaneously organized itself. Fannie Sellins had an exceptional belief in the workers and she went out and organized them. She was killed because she organized those thousands of steel workers." Fannie had organized three U.S. Steel and two independent mills before being murdered.

In July 1919, miners at the "captive" Allegheny Coal and Coke Co. mine, adjacent to the Allegheny Steel plant in West Natrona, struck, and Black strikebreakers not only honored the picket line, but also joined in the picketing.

Fannie Sellins and Joseph Starzelski were murdered at the entrance to this mine, just after the 5 pm shift change on August 26. Mine guards and local newspapers claimed the strikers attempted to rush the guards at the mine gate. The Pittsburgh Sun Telegraph reported that Sellins was killed while leading a crowd of miners in a "pitched battle" with the mine guards. The Pittsburgh Press wrongly identified Starzelski as a strikebreaker and claimed he was shot by strikers.

Eye-witness accounts of others however, contradict this version of the shootings, though details vary. According to one account, the mine thugs had arrested 60 year old Starzelski and were beating him mercilessly. Fannie Sellins, who was on picket duty, attempted to intervene. A company official knocked her down, and the gunmen, shouting "Kill the goddamn whore!", opened fire on her and the crowd of pickets. After Starzelski's body was thrown into a truck brought to the scene, Sellins "was dragged by the heels to the back of the truck and a deputy took a cudgel and crushed her skull."

Another eye-witness account, more generally accepted, says the mine guards instigated the trouble when they drew their blackjacks and hand-guns and began attacking anyone standing near the mine property. Hearing the gunfire, Mrs. Sellins, and a crowd of neighborhood women and children, ran to the mine entrance to see what was happening. Sellins appealed to the mine guards to cease their fire then began to move the children to safety. Rifle were brought out of the mine and the guards aimed them at the crowd. Fannie went back to the guards to protest and one of them struck her with a rifle butt. The deputies shot her down as she attempted to flee and then fired more slugs into her body. Joseph Starzelski was also shot and killed.

Nine people were shot; one deputy sheriff was treated for cuts and bruises. Joseph Murray, a gun thug, was arrested for firing into a crowd, but none of the other guards were charged. Eight union members were arrested for inciting to riot. Philip Murray, UMWA District 5 President, claimed that Fannie was shot on the orders of a mine superintendent. William Z. Foster was convinced that Mrs. Sellins was murdered on orders of the Steel Trust. No investigation was conducted and none of those responsible for Fannie Sellins' death was brought to justice.

While Fannie Sellins was not an IWW organizer, she was a proponent of industrial unionism. She understood the need to organize the unorganized, on class not racial lines. It is clear from her actions that she believed in a more militant, class-wide unionism than most of her AFL contemporaries. Eighty years after her murder, we remember her as one of labor's best and bravest fighters. In honoring her today and teaching our children the story of her life and sacrifice, we give meaning to that part of her epitaph which reads, "Great sister of the poor, your lips will speak no more of the immeasurable wrongs done to your kind ... but they shall hear us who are left behind to storm the ramparts where you fell. And they shall know your voice among the toiling millions when they at last rebel."

W. L. Iams

this life or death struggle is massive national solidarity, which probably means the willingness to call a general strike, if necessary. Does the leadership of the AFL-CIO have the guts? I doubt it.

They let PATCO, Coors, P-9, Eastern, etc., go down without lifting a meaningful finger. I'm beginning to think the UMWA leadership may have the courage, if for no other reason than the rank-and-file will accept nothing less — but I seriously doubt union bureaucrats in the AFL-CIO, many of whom are as comfortable as Paul Douglas, have the guts or the will.

It depends, then, on the rank-and-file. Do they have the courage and the insight to support the miners on their own by wildcatting? That insight is growing, but has it developed enough to save the miners from a bloodbath? Time will tell. If not, "our future may be our past," as one of the miners' leaflets points out.

A pamphlet I read on this trip reminded me of the words of Clarence Darrow regarding the coal strikes early in this century:

"This contest is one of the important contests that have marked the progress of human liberty since the world began. Every advantage that the human race has won has been at a fearful cost. Some men must die that others may live. It has come to these poor miners to bear this cross, not for themselves alone, but that the human race may be lifted up to a higher and broader plane."

The miners in southwest Virginia have drawn the line. Will we let them bear this cross alone or will we accept our responsibility and join them? The Baltimore Branch of the IWW has joined the struggle (see Aug. IW). In Colorado, we are bringing striking miners out for a speaking and fund-raising tour in September.

Do everything you can. Write to: Justice for Pittston Miners, UMWA District 28, Box 28, Castlewood, VA 24224. Better yet, go down there. Do ya good! You will never meet a nicer, more determined bunch of "union to the core" workers. You might also learn a little about direct action.

Gary Cox

the state receives very little protection. Six over-the-road truck drivers used their semis to corral a drunk driver on a northern Virginia highway. They called the state police, who didn't show up for two hours. Their excuse — too many police had been sent to the coal fields in the south. How 'bout opening up some new fronts, fellow workers? Seems they're short of help. The Assets Protection Team is another player. Scum of the earth, many are recruited through the Soldier of Fortune Magazine and have "served" in Rhodesia, Nicaragua, etc. Nice guys in blue jumpers, dark glasses, elbow-length leather gloves, bullet-proof vests, and jump boots, armed with AK-47's, shotguns, and all the latest technology. Every one of them has his own video camera, it appeared to me.

The miners themselves are key players. Why are they always a vanguard in real class struggle? Firstly, they live dangerous lives and become closer to one another for their lives, and solidarity comes more easily for them. Second, they are more attached to their land and homes in the eastern mountains than most other workers. Generations are buried in family plots on their property. Losing their union means losing their jobs, which means losing their homes and moving out of the hollows and into the cities in search of work, which means losing their culture and their traditions.

All this is unthinkable to those I talked to. They told me over and over that they would rather die right there, right now, than accept that. While other workers might sell out the retirees rather than make this kind of sacrifice, these miners, it appears, would not think of it. They are one big family in those hollows, unlike their counterparts in the cities. The UMWA is as sacred to the miners as is the Baptist church. The threat of being forced to leave either one is cause to fight.

Can they win? It is obvious that corporations understand that if they can break the UMWA in this stronghold, the rest of the union movement will fall to its knees. It depends on how well the rest of the rank-and-file understand how crucial this battle really is. The only weapon strong enough to win

IWW in Ann Arbor

Continued from page 7

In the 12 years that the IWW has been active in organizing on the job in Michigan we have forced 3 business to close rather than accept the bosses terms and conditions. The number of managers and supervisors who have lost their jobs because of our activities nearly equals our unions membership.

The IWW is an organization built on CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS. The class struggle is waged not just at the point of production. It is waged in the mind and spirit of every working person. For most members the IWW has been only a transitory experience. But an experience that has altered their consciousness. Every crack in the consciousness of the ruling class is one more place where the seeds of freedom might eventually flower.

A NOTE ON WRITING THIS HISTORY

This article had several authors. Each author was a participant and recognizes that other interpretations of the events described are not only out there, but are also valuable and enlightening. The authors encourage others who have lived through these experiences to add their comments.

— Ken Garber, Michael Hill, Mark Kaufmann, and Martin St. John.

National Security

Few people know they belong to this club. Only with diligence or tough luck do they find out. Patriotic citizens keep company with scandalous rogues. Yet for all its egalitarian character, its associates seldom care to shake hands.

You apply for a visa to any iron curtain country, you post letters to an Eastern European address. You apply for a defense job or seek promotion at a defense plant. You deal in drugs or (private) firearms, escape from jail, particularly if your indiscretion carries you across state lines. You are a man of draft age who flouts the registration law. You join a proscribed group, make indiscrete remarks in public, turn up in jail for offbeat causes, especially if you're nabbed by a Federal cop. You take orders from a foreign power.

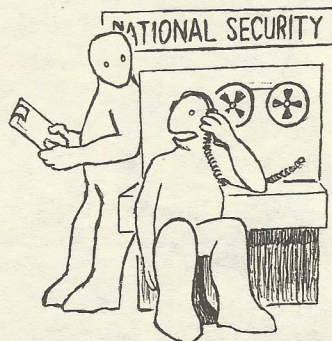
All, all join the throng of suspects in the FBI's ample drawer.

In May, 1988, I applied under the Freedom of Information Act. Big Brother certainly wasn't dislocating an elbow in haste to get the news to me. During the fourteenth-month interval, I received several discrete reports of progress (always in the passive voice).

File no. 190-2455: "This is to inform you that some of the Los Angeles field office documents you requested are being sent to FBI Headquarters in Washington, D.C. for classification review, etc..."

The FBI report when it arrived wasn't notably informative. Two unclassified pages, dated 1965 and 1969, disclosed membership in the IWW, with informers' names smudged out and codes coyly inked in. All other relevant data was also inked out. Censors b7c and ja were especially diligent searchers, indexers and filers. One document, originating with the Department of Justice, was still being processed.

But the Bureau bashfully retired behind its ordinances, citing subsection of Title 5,



I'VE BEEN MONITORING THE IWW FOR WEEKS, AND I WANT TO KNOW WHY I'M NOT GETTING TIME & A HALF, & AN INDEXED PENSION.

National Tree Sit

Its sure been a week to remember. The Earth First! national tree-sit was a huge success, with twelve tree-sits taking place in seven states. Sitters went up in Washington, Oregon, California, New Mexico, Montana, Colorado, and Massachusetts. We got loads of national media, and brought the issue of deforestation into the living rooms of the American public. Even Time magazine has photos of a Mendocino county tree sitter and a trashed out tree-cut.

In California, we had three sits and nine actions last week. These included two tree-sits in Mendocino County, one on an all women tree-sit at Georgia-Pacific clearcut near Fort Bragg and one on Highway 128, the main tourist road to the coast. The other tree-sit was in Assemblyman Dan Hauser's front yard where twenty people occupied a large tree to protest Hauser's sell-out of environmental issues and blatant toadyism for the timber industry.

We also went on a virtual rampage of actions last week. On Monday people demonstrated at the Pacific Lumber Sales county in Marin County to protest Maxam's takeover of that company and its liquidation of the ancient redwoods. Wednesday over 100 people showed up at the US Forest Service office in San Francisco to protest that agency's complicity with the timber companies. Also, on Wednesday we picketed a crude and destructive Gippo in Whiteford, and ended up in a brawl with the loggers, who shot a gun and threatened to kill us, brandished clubs and logger tools, smashed one of our cameras and punched a fifty year old Earth First!ers in the face, breaking her nose.

Thursday's action was in Los Angeles where people demonstrated at Maxam's corporate headquarters. We also moved the Mendocino county tree-sit to Highway 128 Thursday and stretched banners across the road reading "Clearcutting is Eco-terrorism and "Stop redwood slaughter". Friday morning, the new Albion Earth-First! group sponsored its first blockade of a Louisiana Pacific logging road. We built a slash barricade and leafletted people driving by, and we turned back our first LP log truck by pushing

an old car in front of it. A human size spotted owl danced on the car while Earth First! musicians played "You can't clearcut your way to heaven."

We concluded tree-sit week in Mendocino county with a blockade at the Fort Bragg Georgia-Pacific mill. Georgia-Pacific closed the mill down two hours before the demo, handing us another victory, and the people at the demo marched down the main street of Fort Bragg, briefly blocking the road until the police made us move.

On the way to that final demo in Fort Bragg, a car carrying Earth First! organizers Darryl Cherney, Judi Bari and Pam Davis was rear ended by a logging truck on Highway 128. It was a tremendous impact and totally destroyed Judi's car, but by some miracle the Earth First!ers and their four children sustained only minor injuries. We are convinced that this accident was not intentional, although it certainly brought out the issues of logging employees being forced to work weekends, barreling down our public roads trying to keep up with timber industries sped up as they strip the last of our forest before we can get regulations passed to slow them down.

United States Code, Section 552 and Section 552 a(D) in withholding in their entirety seventy-three additional papers. Yes, rejection is still the rule under the FOIA.

Never had any of the shy gentlemen of the FBI confronted me face to face in this affair. Twice, however, an investigative agent rapping on my door to pry into my neighbor's affairs (one seeking promotion in a defense plant) received a most unhelpful response to his questions: "I don't know." "I have no idea." My uncivil deportment in leaving the man standing outside my latched screen door while he scratched notes in his book could have entitled me to a couple of entries in the Bureau's drawer.

In response to Amnesty International's appeals, I have written to a number of foreign dignitaries. At least half of those letters bore addresses in Communist countries.

Among those I censured for violation of human rights were Wang, Minister of Public Security of the People's Republic of China, and Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Gaddafi, self-proclaimed leader of the revolution of Tripoli. Now that should raise a few eyebrows in the FBI office!

True, I was recently arrested five times in nine months and have taken part in many civil disobedience actions over the years. Even so, a dossier of seventy-six pages does seem a bit excessive.

Dorice McDaniels

All in all we feel great about national tree-sit week. It was a tribute to EF! decentralization, coming from the grass roots of EF! with out any direction at all from the supposed national leaders. Locally, it also came from the grassroots and involved many people besides Earth First!ers. It raised peoples awareness and helped pave the way for the upcoming state-wide initiative to ban clearcutting and preserve old growth.

Usual Desperate plea for money

The only problem (and I'm sure you saw this coming) is that this action has left us broke and in debt. Normally when EF! income doesn't meet expenses, we organizers cover the difference from our pocket. But now that three of us can't work for a while as we recover from the car crash we are dependent on your generosity to keep us going. EF! is much more modestly funded than the respectable environmental groups but we get a big bang for the buck. Please help us keep up the activity by sending money to:

EF!
106 W Stanley
Ukiah CA 95482

Correspondence

Continued from page 2

print an article in its journal, repudiating the individual WSA members who made such statements as people with over-active egos? A sentiment of forgiveness is a fine and noble thing, but why forgive WSA while giving the back of the hand to IWW members, who were "mistakenly" too loyal to the union to allow WSA's attacks to go unanswered?

In a way, wobbles who want a closer relationship with the IWA should be grateful to those wobs who stuck their necks out to defend the IWW's reputation. If the non-U.S. International Workers Association sections had believed the WSA's accusations, the IWA would have severed communications by now. Also, the WSA would not be forced to act friendly towards the IWW, without the pressure put on them by the IWW's defenders. The WSA, in turn, should be grateful the IWW is letting them off the hook so easily.

In Solidarity,
Jeff Stein

Malthus Debate

Dear FWs:

I was a bit amused by Bill McCormick's denial of being a malthusian. It seems that the world is heavily over-populated, but he is not a malthusian.

Mr. McCormick states that in addition to food people also need "space, dignity,

freedom, communal self-reliance and a thousand and one other things that diminish at precisely the same rate that overcrowding and the resulting tensions occur."

The only item in the above list that is even distantly connected to population is space. There is no connection between population and dignity, freedom, communal self-reliance and 1,000. And Mr. McCormick does not explain how "overcrowding and its resulting tensions" caused chattel slavery and the great war against the American tribal people back when the world's, and Europe's population were far less dense than today and when there was such an over-amplitude of idle land in the vast estates of Europe, whose wealthy people, with armies, navies and merchant fleets at their command, set out on the subjugation of the African and American tribes.

Then too, if the people need space, and if the acquiring of it confers dignity, freedom and communal self reliance and 1,000, why hasn't the urban sprawl brought these things? Suburbanites have space, don't they?

I would note in passing that millionaires live quite spaciouly in penthouses on top of sky scrapers. I also wonder - what about all those empty houses in the cities? And don't slum tenements occupy space? In what way does population density prevent the tearing down of the slums and the building of good houses?

McCormick gives quotes from Aldous Huxley: "...Permanent crisis justifies permanent control of everybody and

everything by the agencies of the central government. And permanent crisis is what we have to expect in a world in which over-population is producing a state of things in which dictatorship ...becomes almost unsuitable.

My second chuckle came when McCormick asked if that sounded Malthusian!

If fortune allows me to find a non-Malthusian publisher, that is, an anarchist or socialist publisher, I will make clear in a fairly readable and not-to-lengthy work just how Malthusian law did come into existence in the old stone age or before, i.e., how scarcity originated, whereas it had been mathematically impossible before. Thus I will show how avarice, and thus all other evils, originated, for no such evil could [word illegible -ed.] in human nature.

Having shown how scarcity, hence greed, hence all other evils originated, i.e., having shown how Malthusianism originated, I will then show how technology, beginning with such things as Savery's steam engine in 1698, put an end to Malthusian Law before Malthus even "discovered" it in 1798.

In closing the work, I will show, as Karl Marx, Michael Bakunin, and countless others before me have already shown, that the real cause of poverty today is the exploitation of the workers of the world by the owning, ruling classes; and that the solution to poverty is not population control, but the taking and controlling of all means of life and products of labor by

those who work and those who are not able to work.

Let me add that I am pleased to note that Murray Bookchin is also a pro-natalist (whatever that is). Please put me in touch with him. I'd like to get some of his books.

In Solidarity,
George La Forest

Women's Health

The "conservative" Supreme Court has forgotten it's illegal to practice medicine without a license. No man would let a mob of fanatics prevent him from getting any kind of medical service. Nevertheless, religious nuts pretend they are on staff at women's health clinics. They stand in the way of patients who are there to seek medical care. "You can't have an abortion." They say this, knowing nothing about the patient's medical history. They are not certified to practice medicine at the clinics where they congregate.

Doctors work hard to get their own licenses to practice medicine. Why do they tolerate these quacks who stand between women and health care? I'm amazed that patients are not suing the pants off these phony "doctors," with their picket hospitals. Who are these outlaws, that they think they can "advise" patients and not go to jail and be fined, for violating licensing laws?

Sincerely,
Aura Dawn Veirs

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE EMPLOYING CLASS HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON! THERE CAN BE NO PEACE SO LONG AS HUNGER AND WANT ARE FOUND AMONG MILLIONS OF WORKING PEOPLE AND THE FEW, WHO MAKE UP THE EMPLOYING CLASS, HAVE ALL THE GOOD THINGS OF LIFE.

BETWEEN THESE TWO CLASSES A STRUGGLE MUST GO ON UNTIL THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD ORGANIZE AS A CLASS, TAKE POSSESSION OF THE EARTH AND THE MACHINERY OF PRODUCTION, AND ABOLISH THE WAGE SYSTEM.

WE FIND THAT THE CENTERING OF THE MANAGEMENT OF INDUSTRIES INTO FEWER AND FEWER HANDS MAKES THE TRADE UNIONS UNABLE TO COPE WITH THE EVER GROWING POWER OF THE EMPLOYING CLASS. THE TRADE UNIONS FOSTER A STATE OF AFFAIRS WHICH ALLOWS ONE SET OF WORKERS TO BE PITTED AGAINST ANOTHER SET OF WORKERS IN THE SAME INDUSTRY, THEREBY HELPING DEFEAT ONE ANOTHER IN WAGE WARS. MOREOVER, THE TRADE UNIONS AID THE EMPLOYING CLASS TO MISLEAD THE WORKERS INTO THE BELIEF THAT THE WORKING CLASS HAVE INTERESTS IN COMMON WITH THEIR EMPLOYERS.

THESE CONDITIONS CAN BE CHANGED AND THE INTEREST OF THE WORKING CLASS UPHELD ONLY BY AN ORGANIZATION FORMED IN SUCH A WAY THAT ALL ITS MEMBERS IN ANY ONE INDUSTRY, OR IN ALL INDUSTRIES IF NECESSARY, CEASE WORK WHENEVER A STRIKE OR LOCKOUT IS ON IN ANY DEPARTMENT THEREOF, THUS MAKING..... AN INJURY TO ONE AN INJURY TO ALL.

INSTEAD OF THE CONSERVATIVE MOTTO, "A FAIR DAY'S WAGE FOR FAIR DAY'S WORK," WE MUST INSCRIBE ON OUR BANNER THE REVOLUTIONARY WATCHWORD, "ABOLITION OF THE WAGE SYSTEM."

IT IS THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS TO DO AWAY WITH CAPITALISM. THE ARMY OF PRODUCTION MUST BE ORGANIZED, NOT ONLY FOR THE EVERY-DAY STRUGGLE WITH CAPITALISTS, BUT ALSO TO CARRY ON PRODUCTION WHEN CAPITALISM SHALL HAVE BEEN OVERTHROWN. BY ORGANIZING INDUSTRIALLY WE ARE FORMING THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEW SOCIETY WITHIN THE SHELL OF THE OLD.

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NEW YORK. New York Branch, Box 183, New York 10028. Meetings second Sunday of each month at 2 pm. Call Rochelle, Jackie, or John for location of meetings.
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TEXAS. Gilbert Mers, 7031 Kernel, Houston 77087, tel. (713) 921-0877.
VIRGINIA. Keith Preston, 1101 West Grace, Richmond, tel. (713) 355-6966; if no answer, ask for the IWW at (713) 741-1897.
WASHINGTON. Bellingham Branch, Box 1386, Bellingham 98227
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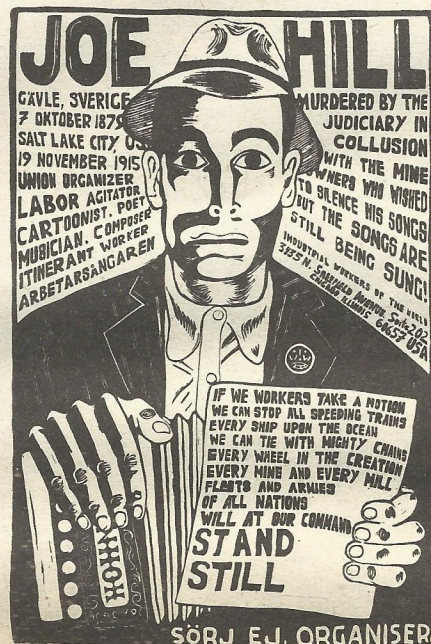
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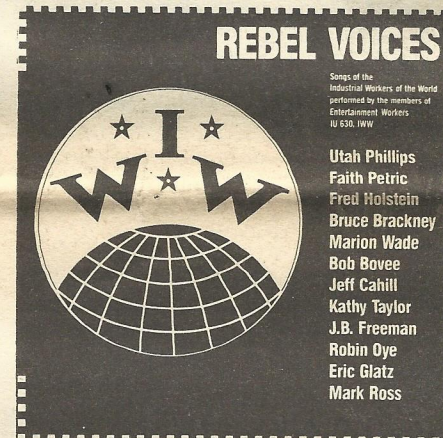
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